

# INTERNATIONAL Herald Tribune

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## 75 Refugees Reportedly Die in Raid

### NATO Says Its Pilots Hit Military Convoy

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

BELGRADE — The Yugoslav Foreign Ministry said Wednesday that at least 75 people were killed and 25 wounded in NATO air raids on two columns of refugees in western Kosovo.

NATO military sources conceded that alliance warplanes had targeted and attacked military vehicles on a road in western Kosovo, but they would not confirm Serbian media reports that dozens of civilians had been killed in the bombings.

If the account were true, it would mark by far the largest single loss of civilian life reported during the three-week-old NATO bombing campaign.

The Serb-run Media Center in the Kosovo capital of Pristina said two separate refugee convoys were bombed, most of them made up of women, children and elderly ethnic Albanians who were being escorted by Serbian police toward the border.

The reported attacks come the day after NATO admitted mistakenly bombing a train as it crossed a bridge at Grdelica, 300 kilometers (180 miles) south of Belgrade, an attack that the BETA press agency said Wednesday had killed 10 people, wounded 16 and left 17 missing.

The Pentagon said later Wednesday that Serbian forces escorting a convoy of Kosovo refugees may have attacked and killed some of the civilians after military vehicles in the convoy were hit in a NATO air strike.

Kenneth Bacon, the Pentagon spokesman, said General Wesley Clark, the top NATO commander, had received "verbal reports of the possibility" that, after military vehicles in the refugee convoy were hit, "military people got out" and "began to attack civilians in the middle of the convoy."

A NATO spokesman, Jamie Shea, acknowledged that "military vehicles" had been a target Wed-



A man passing bodies near the village of Meja where the Serbs reported 64 people were killed.

nesday afternoon on the Prizren-Djakovica road in western Kosovo.

He added that NATO was trying to establish whether the convoy had been hit by mistake. "We are processing the battle damage assessment," he said.

"I would not jump to any conclusions until we've

had a chance to make an assessment," he said. "Reserve judgment until we have the facts."

Refugees fleeing Kosovo are reporting to relief workers that Yugoslav helicopters and airplanes have been attacking refugee convoys in the Serbian

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### Starr Urges End To His Own Job



Kenneth Starr on the same day he testified before Congress, urging lawmakers not to reauthorize the independent counsel statute. Page 3.

### AGENDA

### Pakistan Matches India Missile Test

Three days after India launched a nuclear-capable missile, Pakistan responded Wednesday by firing off a new and improved version of its own ballistic missile from a testing range near the city of Jhelum in the northern part of the country.

The Ghauri-2 missile, named after a 12th-century Muslim invader who conquered parts of northern India, flew about 1,120 kilometers (700 miles). Page 2.

### India Government Loses Its Majority

The government of India lost its majority in Parliament on Wednesday and faced an immediate vote of confidence on Thursday that could remove it from office. The government of Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpeyi scrambled late into the night to secure enough votes to survive. Page 10.

## Children of Chaos in Refugee Camp

### For a Little Girl With No Name, Home Is Now Tent No. 389

By David Finkel  
Washington Post Service

KUKES, Albania — Somehow, she made it to the border. Somehow she made it along the winding mountain roads to the steps of a mosque at the edge of a field in the northern Albanian town of Kukes — and that's where whoever brought her here abandoned her.

They don't know her name; they think it starts with a J, because that's a sound she makes from time to time.

They don't know her age, but they think she is between 1½ and 2, a range they arrived at by getting her to trust them enough to open her mouth so they could count her teeth.

They think she was lying on a blanket at the base of the steps for perhaps six

hours, until a woman approached her, saw she was filthy, shoeless and soaking, and realized after asking around that she had been abandoned. Not knowing what else to do, the woman took the girl live with her.

That happened Friday. Now she is living in a tent with a family she does not know, one of more than 100,000 refugees in the miserable place that is Kukes, all of them in various stages of the chaos of displacement. Most of them are children.

The lucky ones are living in tents that smell of damp canvas, and the luckier ones are living in old, crowded warehouses that smell of hundreds of shoes. The unlucky ones — numbering in the thousands — are living in carts that are still attached to the tractors that pulled

them here from the burning interior of Kosovo.

The abandoned toddler is in a tent toward the end of a row that comes up against a stone wall topped by barbed wire. The number on the tent is 389, and the people inside include Resje Mesin, 32, the woman who found the girl; Shyqyri, her husband, 38; and their three children, and Shyqyri's brother and sister-in-law and their children. They are 15 people in all.

Resje and Shyqyri intend to raise the little girl as their own.

By Tuesday, she is eating and sleeping, and sometimes smiling, but Resje says that the girl has diarrhea, and they don't have enough clothing for her and

See KIDS, Page 4

## Anwar's Sentencing Sets Off Rioting

By Mark Landler  
New York Times Service

KUALA LUMPUR — Anwar Ibrahim, the dismissed deputy prime minister of Malaysia, was found guilty of corruption and sentenced Wednesday to six years in prison in a verdict that turned this orderly city into a cauldron of anti-government riots.

Declaring that his conduct "strikes at the very core of the administrative system," Judge Augustine Paul found Mr. Anwar guilty of all four charges that he abused his power as Malaysia's No. 2 official. The judge even refused to give Mr. Anwar credit for time he has served in jail since his arrest last September.

Lawyers for Mr. Anwar, 51, appealed the verdict. But for now, supporters of the man who was groomed to lead the country said that he is the victim of a political feud that has generated strong

criticism of Prime Minister Mahathir bin Mohamad.

As news of the verdict spread through Kuala Lumpur — ending a trial that has been a riveting daily event for seven months — several thousand people took to the streets in a show of outrage, chanting anti-Mahathir slogans and waving placards proclaiming "The people are the judge."

The crowd was repelled by water cannon on trucks and hundreds of Malaysian riot police officers wielding rattan sticks. But it quickly regrouped and much of the city was paralyzed as the police pursued the demonstrators through the streets of Kuala Lumpur's historic district.

As trucks sprayed the crowd with chemical-laced water, the protesters hurled rocks and bottles at the police, lit fires on major streets and chanted "Reformasi!" — the slogan that originated

in Indonesia and now symbolizes the reform movement here as well.

By nightfall, the mayhem seemed to have died down. The clashes were the worst in months, with the police firing multiple rounds of tear gas at small pockets of Anwar supporters and beating a human rights activist who tried to block the path of a water-cannon truck. Police officials said that 18 people had been arrested, most at a mosque near the courthouse.

"We are very angry and upset," said Shidi Amin, a 38-year-old businessman, as he watched protesters flee in the path of advancing riot police near the main post office.

"They've tried to kill Anwar as a political leader," he charged. "But the people will not forget about him, even if he is in jail."

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## 6 Algerians Quit the Race

### All but One of Presidential Candidates Cry Foul

By Charles Truett  
Washington Post Service

ALGIERS — Six of the seven candidates running for president of Algeria withdrew Wednesday from the Thursday election, charging "persecution" in a government sponsored by the military-backed government and even some of its critics as a historic step toward democratic pluralism.

The stunning eleventh-hour withdrawal by all the candidates except Abdellah Boudouiba, the front-runner and unofficial choice of the Algerian military and political elites, was bound to discredit the results of the balloting Thursday and render Mr. Boudouiba's expected victory hollow at best.

In a televised address Wednesday night, the outgoing president, Liamine Zeroual, said the election would go forth as scheduled despite the withdrawals.

"I have decided that the electoral process will be taken to its conclusion," Mr. Zeroual said, adding that the six candidates who pulled out had taken a "dangerous decision."

The six candidates made common cause in refusing pre-emptively to recognize the results of the election because, they said in a collective declaration Wednesday, commitments for free and transparent elections made by Mr. Zeroual and the Algerian Army had been violated.

"We note the persistence of the government in denying citizens their right to decide their future and to choose their president, and we hold it responsible for what follows," the candidates said in a statement that was read at a boisterous news conference to the cheers of their partisans.

See ALGERIA, Page 10

### The Dollar

New York Wednesday 8:45 P.M. previous close

Euro 1.0806 1.0774

Pound 1.6136 1.6155

Yen 118.63 119.725

DM 1.8102 1.8154

FF 6.0709 6.0886

Dollars per pound and per euro

### The Dow

Wednesday close percent change

+16.65 10,411.66 +0.16%

S&P 500

-21.36 1,328.46 -1.58%

Nasdaq

-76.01 2,507.49 -2.94%

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The IHT on-line www.iht.com

## EU Leaders Back UN Cease-Fire Plan For Serb Pullback

### Diplomatic Efforts by Allies Over Kosovo Begin to Surface

By Joseph Fitchett  
International Herald Tribune

PARIS — Diplomatic maneuvering among the allies in the Kosovo conflict broke into public view for the first time Wednesday when a number of proposals surfaced at an EU summit meeting in Brussels for ending the war and also for assuring postwar stability in the shattered province and across the territories of the former Federation of Yugoslavia.

The European Union leaders backed a United Nations peace initiative calling for an suspension of NATO air raids if Belgrade acted immediately to halt the violence in Kosovo, withdraw all its forces, allow an international security force to deploy in the province and permit the Kosovo refugees to go home.

After meeting with Kofi Annan, the UN secretary-general, EU leaders said that they hoped to see this initiative become a Security Council resolution that would win the approval of Russia.

NATO, not the Security Council or the European Union, launched and controls the action against the forces of President Slobodan Milosevic, but Britain and France, which are members of all three organizations, want to see Western diplomacy ease the isolation Russia feels in the conflict.

If Belgrade agreed to the UN proposal, which appeared to largely overlap NATO's five demands for an end to hostilities, the European allies would probably get the United States to agree — even though Washington would be loath to see too much UN influence in a settlement.

The Clinton administration insists that NATO must be free to act without any risk of paralysis caused by a UN veto, but the European allies — who agreed on the Kosovo offensive without a Security Council mandate because of risk of a Russian veto — want to restore a UN role and benefit from its international legitimacy in a settlement.

For the moment, allied governments were orchestrating their diplomacy carefully, taking individual positions catering to their domestic opinion but concentrating on avoiding any hint of a crack in their solid front as NATO pressed an escalating military offensive to defeat Mr. Milosevic's forces in Kosovo.

A German plan, offering a 24-hour cease-fire in NATO air strikes if Serbian forces started withdrawing from Kosovo, received ginger treatment from the allies, with a Clinton administration spokesman saying merely that it was "constructive."

President Jacques Chirac of France reportedly suggested an EU mandate for postwar Kosovo, putting a European twist on an old term for international control of a territory pending a decision on whether it should be independent or attached to another nation.

The French suggestion would fit a situation in which Kosovo would not revert to the control of a Serbia still controlled by President Milosevic.

All the allied governments have started formulating plans for a postwar recovery plan, including economic aid that would end the series of conflicts that have engulfed Bosnia and Kosovo — and could endanger the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and also Albania, diplomats said.

The NATO alliance said its warplanes and missiles struck across Kosovo and Serbia on Wednesday, hitting bridges, fuel depots, communications lines and command centers.

The NATO civilian spokesman, Jamie Shea, said the allies were steadily adding firepower, bringing in hundreds of planes from the United States, Canada, France and Italy.

"With more than 1,000 aircraft on stream very soon we will be able to maintain a continuous operation to tighten the screw on Serb forces in Kosovo," he said.

Some of the strongest hints yet surfaced in Washington and London that allied ground troops might be used once Serbian resistance had been broken by air strikes.

The British foreign secretary, Robin Cook, told Parliament on Wednesday: "There may be circumstances in which one could envisage an international protection force going in without a formal treaty arrangement but with no resistance on the ground."

"There has to be evidence that the Serb forces are at least in the process of withdrawing," he said, "and there has to be a credible intention for them all to withdraw."

See KOSOVO, Page 4



Supporters of the convicted former deputy prime minister, Anwar Ibrahim, chanting Wednesday outside the courthouse in Kuala Lumpur.

## China Gets Boost on Trade

### Clinton Asks Zhu to Restart WTO Negotiations

By Katherine Q. Seelye  
New York Times Service

we will see the successful conclusion of negotiations that are favorable to both sides — but especially to the U.S."

"Some observers think we're 95 percent there," Mr. Zhu said. "I think we're 99 percent there. We'll see conclusion of an agreement."

[A World Trade Organization agreement may be reached within two or three months. Mr. Zhu told Cable News Network, according to Bloomberg News. "Of course I would rather see it in another two weeks' time," he said.]

Mr. Clinton's phone call to the Chinese leader followed a meeting Monday in which nearly two dozen business executives lobbied the White House to emphasize the importance of the deal to American companies.

"They were happy with the progress we made but were worried that the deal

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Newspaper Prices	
Bahrain</td	

# Responding to India, Pakistan Tests Missile of Its Own

By Celia A. Dugger  
New York Times Service

NEW DELHI — Three days after India launched a nuclear-capable missile, Pakistan responded Wednesday by firing off a new and improved version of its own ballistic missile from a testing range near the city of Jhelum in the northern part of the country.

The Ghauri-2 missile, named after a 12th-century Muslim invader who conquered parts of northern India, flew about 1,120 kilometers (700 miles) in 12 minutes to land in the sparsely populated southwestern province of Baluchistan on the Arabian Sea coast.

A government statement said the missile "can be tipped with any type of warhead."

The official Pakistani press agency said the Ghauri-2 might be tested a second time to its full range of 2,320 kilometers with a landing in the sea.

India's Agni-2 missile, which is named with the Sanskrit word for fire, traveled 2,010 kilometers Sunday before it splashed into the Bay of Bengal, officials here said.

Indian officials have repeatedly and publicly stated their intention to test the intermediate-range missiles they say are needed for a credible nuclear deterrent particularly against their other nuclear-armed neighbor, China. But Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif of Pakistan said Tuesday that India was responsible for intensifying the arms race with its latest missile test.

On Wednesday, he congratulated the Pakistanis on the successful test of the Ghauri.

The Pakistani Army chief of staff, General Pervez Musharraf, told reporters in Karachi on Monday, "We have developed Ghauri, which is a most effective missile and better than that of Agni. India has the ambition to reach the world, but we have the capability to reach India."

The two nations' exchange of missile tests echoed the nuclear tests they conducted 11 months ago. India, taking the lead, and Pakistan became the newest nuclear powers last May when they detonated nuclear devices underground.

In recent months, Mr. Sharif and the Indian prime minister, Atal Bihari Vajpayee, have sought to better relations between their nations, which have fought three wars in the past 51 years.

At a February meeting in Lahore, the two men agreed that they would continue talking



Pakistanis celebrating the Wednesday missile test by their country by exploding fireworks in a street of Lahore.

about the core issues that divided India and Pakistan.

They promised to give each other advance notice before any further missile tests, a tacit recognition that more tests were likely. In this case, India told Pakistan about its plans to test the Agni two days in advance, while Pakistan notified India on Tuesday of its intentions to test a missile.

Officials at the U.S. embassies in New Delhi and Islamabad said Washington was unhappy that India and Pakistan had taken another step toward developing their nuclear

arsenals. "We hope that this will not mean the end of the process started at Lahore, and it probably won't," an official at the embassy in New Delhi said. "What happens to the Indian government now is probably more important in determining what happens next than the testing."

The negotiations between Mr. Sharif and Mr. Vajpayee seemed less likely to be disrupted by the missile tests than by a political crisis that threatened to topple the Hindu nationalist-led coalition government in India that Mr. Vajpayee heads.

The Indian government lost its parliamentary majority Wednesday when its largest coalition partner withdrew its support. If Mr. Vajpayee's coalition loses its majority in the lower house, Mr. Vajpayee himself will be out of power. It is not clear who would replace him.

Mr. Vajpayee thus made the decision to launch the Agni as his year-old government faced what was clearly the gravest threat yet to its survival, and he declared on Wednesday that the missile test had assured India's national security.

"The entire process of achieving a minimum deterrent has been completed," he said.

Pakistan's decision to respond with one test firing, and possibly a second missile shot, was motivated more by the need to show that it could stand up to its bigger and more powerful neighbor than by any strategic or technical need to test its missiles, nuclear analysts said.

Last May, it successfully tested a Ghauri missile with the potential to strike deep into India.

"Last year, India did five nuclear tests, and Pakistan did six," said George Perkovich, a nuclear analyst and author of a soon-to-be-published history of India's nuclear-weapons program.

"This year, India tests one missile, Pakistan may test two," Mr. Perkovich said. "As the smaller state, you have to show you have great resolve. You'll march and see it one."

## 2 Convicted in Theft of TWA Crash Material

New York Times Service

UNIONDALE, New York — A federal jury convicted a Virginia couple of conspiring to steal evidence from the wreckage of Trans World Airlines Flight 800 to back up their theory that the jetliner was hit by an errant Navy missile.

The defendants, James Sanders, the author of a 1997 book promoting the theory, and his wife, Elizabeth, a former TWA flight-attendant instructor, appeared stunned Tuesday when the jury delivered its verdict after less than two hours of deliberation.

The two were found guilty of conspiracy, as well as aiding and abetting in the theft of two small strips of passenger-seat fabric that con-

tained a reddish-orange residue that they said was left by a missile. They each face as much as 10 years in prison when sentenced on July 9, but the assistant U.S. attorney prosecuting the case, David Pirofsky, said that under sentencing guidelines, they would probably be sentenced to far less time.

As the couple left U.S. District Court late Tuesday, Mr. Sanders said: "We were surprised by the verdict and the jury rendered it so quickly. It can't help but send a strong and obvious message to journalists seeking to tell the truth."

Mr. Sanders, who clutched her husband's hand, said, "We did nothing wrong." They remain free, each on \$50,000 bail.

In his book, "The Downing of TWA Flight 800," Mr. Sanders contended that tests indicated the reddish-orange substance on the seat fabric was residue from missile exhaust, evidence that the plane had been accidentally fired upon when it exploded only 12 minutes after taking off from Kennedy International Airport on July 17, 1996. The government has yet to determine the cause of the crash, but has rejected the missile theory and says its tests show that the residue is fabric glue.

The couple was charged under a law approved by Congress in 1996, after the ValuJet crash in Florida, that makes it illegal to remove, conceal or withhold parts of a civilian aircraft involved in an accident.

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"As the smaller state, you have to show you have great resolve. You'll march and see it one."

## Debate on Ousting Yeltsin Set for May

### Russia Parliament Approves One-Month Delay in Session on Impeachment

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

MOSCOW — The lower house of the Russian Parliament voted Wednesday, during a quarrelsome session, to postpone an impeachment debate against President Boris Yeltsin.

The decision to freeze the process until May 13-15 was reached on a vote of 241 to 63. It came before lawmakers had even agreed to cancel a session set for Thursday during which the five-count hearing was to begin.

Mr. Yeltsin's Communist foes in Parliament are leading the call for his ouster, but they do not want an impeachment vote until they can amend the rules and hold an open ballot. The Communists fear that if the ballot is secret — as stipulated under current rules — some party members may defect and vote against impeachment.

The Duma's delays have angered Mr. Yeltsin, who has accused his opponents of trying to keep him under constant political attack by dragging out the process. He urged lawmakers to hold the debate Thursday or drop the motion altogether.

The presidential spokesman, Dmitri

Yakushkin, quickly denounced the move. "All the fuss off the last few days and even hours, all these actions show that the motion has been and remains purely political," Mr. Yakushkin said on NTV television.

A committee spent months formulating the charges against Mr. Yeltsin. The impeachment motion, which requires a two-thirds majority in both houses of Parliament and approval by the two highest Russian courts, is considered likely to fail, as have previous attempts.

Still, Mr. Yeltsin's influence has slipped because of his frequent illnesses and Russia's continuing economic crisis. The motion is expected to be slightly better chance than before.

A committee charged Mr. Yeltsin with instigating the 1991 Soviet collapse, improperly using force against hard-line lawmakers in 1993, launching the disastrous offensive against rebel Chechnya, bringing the nation's military to ruin and waging virtual "genocide" against the people by pursuing economic policies that impoverished much of the country.

### Berezovsky Warrant Annulled

Russia moved Wednesday to withdraw an arrest warrant for the tycoon Boris Berezovsky, just two weeks after charging the Kremlin insider with bilking hundreds of millions of dollars from the Aeroflot state airline, Agence France-Presse reported from Moscow.

The decision capped a mysterious month of politics that included a declaration by the Russian interior minister that he would not follow orders to arrest Mr. Berezovsky should the tycoon return to Moscow from abroad.

The Russian chief prosecutor, meanwhile, is himself still facing criminal corruption charges after a period of mud-slinging that included the national broadcast of a tape purporting to show him in bed with two prostitutes.

Mr. Berezovsky had been accused of illegal business activities and of misusing his office while holding a series of senior government posts.

He and another top Aeroflot executive

were charged with transferring most of Aeroflot's hard-currency profits to a fake company in Switzerland.



Russian workers in St. Petersburg giving a spring cleaning to street lights near the historic Smolny Cathedral.

## WEATHER

Forecast for Friday through Sunday, as provided by AccuWeather.



Maps, forecasts and data provided by AccuWeather, Inc. © 1999 <http://www.accuweather.com>

Asia

Turkey

Ukraine

Central

China

Japan

South Korea

Malaysia

Indonesia

Philippines

Thailand

Singapore

Hong Kong

Macau

Maldives

## THE AMERICAS

## Starr Urges End to Independent Counsel Statute, Calling It Flawed

By Neil A. Lewis  
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — Kenneth Starr, who came to embody the independent counsel law as he pursued a variety of allegations about President Bill Clinton for almost five years, said Wednesday that he now believes the United States would be better off if the law were allowed to expire.

"The statute should not be reauthorized," Mr. Starr said bluntly in testimony before the Senate Committee on Government Affairs, which is considering what to do about the law that provides for the appointment of independent counsels like Mr. Starr. The statute is set to expire at the end of June.

Instead, Mr. Starr argued, the authority to investigate politically sensitive cases involving senior administration officials should be returned to the Justice Department and the attorney general — with Congress and the press keeping watch.

He said in his testimony that the law has many serious flaws and, most important, has not achieved its main purpose, which is to provide the public with a sense that investigations of

figures like the president are free from partisanship.

Referring to his own experience, Mr. Starr lamented that his investigation was criticized as too partisan, that he was portrayed as a Republican out to get a Democratic president and that the public did not, in the end, have great confidence in what he was doing.

"The assaults took a toll," he said. "A duly authorized federal law-enforcement investigation came to be characterized as yet another political game. Law became politics by other means." As a result, he said, "the statutory mechanism intended to enhance confidence in law enforcement thus had the effect of weakening it."

The independent counsel law was enacted after the Watergate scandal of the early 1970s, which produced a wide consensus that the nation's chief law-enforcement officer, the attorney general, had an inherent conflict in investigating the president or fellow cabinet officers.

But Mr. Starr argued that the opposite has occurred. Rather than assuring that the investigation is not too soft because it is conducted by a political associate, the law opens the door for

independent counsels to be criticized as overly eager to successfully prosecute someone.

"Because the independent counsel is vulnerable to partisan attack, the investigation is likely to be seen as political," Mr. Starr said. He has been furiously criticized by supporters of Mr. Clinton and his wife, Hillary Rodham Clinton.

At the same time, Mr. Starr has faced widespread criticism from those who argued that his efforts were not partisan but were, nonetheless, ill-considered and frequently lacking any sense of proportion.

Mr. Starr's statement was defensive as well over the criticism of the expanding scope of his investigation, which began with questions about Whitewater, a land deal in Arkansas in which the Clintons invested before they came to the White House.

The inquiry eventually included such unconnected topics as the dismissal of employees in the White House travel office, the improper collection of confidential FBI files on some Republicans in the Clinton White House and, most famously, the president's intimate relationship with Monica Lewinsky. Each time, Mr. Starr

received an expansion of his original jurisdiction, which had been to investigate only the Whitewater matter.

In his testimony, Mr. Starr said that "the number of expansions is unique and it may have fed the misconception that we were investigating individuals rather than crime."

"Let me make clear: That was not the case."

He argued in his statement that he did not seek to investigate some of those subjects but had them pressed on him by the Justice Department. But investigating Ms. Lewinsky's relations with the president, the area that attracted the greatest criticism, was something Mr. Starr sought.

He also criticized the independent counsel statute, which he said obliged him to report to Congress any offenses by the president that might have been worthy of impeachment.

His referral to Congress charged that Mr. Clinton had committed several impeachable offenses, including perjury and obstruction of justice. The report led to a months-long ordeal during which the House voted to impeach the president, but the Senate voted to acquit him.

For Mr. Starr's critics, his investigation of the

Lewinsky matter and his advocacy of impeachment were the principal examples of his excessive zeal.

In his prepared testimony, Mr. Starr defended himself, saying that the statute compelled him to offer a detailed explanation of the president's alleged offenses.

"We could have shipped the raw evidence with nothing more last fall," he said. But he said he believed he had to bring some "order and coherence to the information."

## ■ Starr's Comments Are a Surprise

Mr. Starr's comments surprised some observers who have watched him pursue the president aggressively for five years.

"If you live long enough, you'll experience everything," Senator Robert Torricelli, Democrat of New Jersey and Government Affairs Committee member, said after listening to Mr. Starr.

Senator Patrick Leahy, Democrat of Vermont, who is not a Government Affairs member, issued a statement declaring Mr. Starr's remarks "like Jack the Ripper calling for more neighborhood patrols because of the surge in victims."

## Judge Scolds Kevorkian

Sentencing Him to 10 to 25 Years in Prison, She Says Lawlessness Was the Trial's Issue

By Dirk Johnson  
New York Times Service

PONTIAC, Michigan — The Michigan judge who sentenced Dr. Jack Kevorkian to 10 to 25 years in prison and his flouting of the law had given prosecutors and the courts no choice but to remove him from

"This trial was not about the political or moral correctness of euthanasia," Judge Jessica Cooper of Oakland County Circuit Court said. "It was about you, sir. It was about lawlessness."

The penalty was imposed Tuesday despite emotional courtroom pleas on Dr. Kevorkian's behalf from the widow and brother of the terminally ill man he was convicted of having killed. The 70-year-old defendant was also denied bail.

Referring to the "60 Minutes" television program that featured a videotape of Dr. Kevorkian's administering the lethal injection that resulted in the charges, Judge Cooper said that the advocate of assisted suicide had "the audacity to show the world what you did and dare the legal system to stop you. Well, sir, consider yourself stopped."



Dr. Jack Kevorkian being led away by deputies in his murder conviction.

"The defendant chose to put us in this sad situation," he said. "This is not a case where the prosecutor went looking for Kevorkian."

The doctor, who plans to appeal, his lawyers say, must serve more than six years before he will be eligible for parole under Michigan guidelines.

Judge Cooper told Dr. Kevorkian that whatever his views on euthanasia, he must follow the rules of a democratic society.

"We are a nation of laws," she said. "We have a civilized and nonviolent way of resolving conflict. You can criticize the law. You can gripe. You can lecture. You can petition the voters. But you may not take the law into your own hands."

But John Skrzynski, the prosecutor, said Dr. Kevorkian had used Mr. Youk as part of his effort to legally support for euthanasia and assisted suicide.

## Republican Hopefuls Lower Sights on Abortion

By Terry M. Neal  
and David Von Drehle  
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — For the first time in two decades, most of the leading Republican presidential candidates are trying to push an abortion ban off the top of the party's agenda, removing from the political spotlight one of the most divisive issues of a generation.

In the past few weeks, prominent Republican candidates — including Governor George Bush of Texas, Elizabeth Dole, Senator John McCain of Arizona and former Vice President Dan Quayle — have said the party should focus on other issues because America is not ready for a ban on abortion.

In contrast to 1996, when religious and social conservatives lashed out at Bob Dole's desire to tone down the party's platform on abortion, many anti-abortion leaders appear willing to play down a polarizing issue that has driven away many independent and suburban voters and perpetuated the party's image of intolerance.

Party polls have shown that many of these swing voters, holding conflicting views on abortion, perceive Republicans to be inflexible. By dropping the banner of a constitutional ban

on abortions and emphasizing the far more limited ban on a late-term procedure that opponents call "partial-birth" abortion, Republican strategists hope to paint a new picture in which Democrats, with their resistance to any limits, are the inflexible ones.

This turn to the center reflects the Republican Party's pragmatic approach to the 2000 election after the loss of the last two presidential elections and with their majority in the House of Representatives hanging by a thread. It does not mean that Republican leaders plan to back off the abortion issue entirely.

"I think a lot of people on my side — the 'pro-life' side — have decided that making incremental progress is better than trying to throw the long bomb," said Haley Barbour, a former Republican Party chairman.

Linda DiVall, a Republican pollster who has signed on with Mrs. Dole, said that in one of her recent surveys voters gave Democrats a 20-point edge over Republicans in tolerating other points of view. "I think there's a greater understanding of just how divisive this issue is," she said.

"Also, there is a great desire among Republicans to win this campaign."

The debate is loaded with nuances, but as the Republican candidates state

their positions, most seem to agree the party should concentrate on initiatives over which a public consensus is most possible: outlawing late-term abortion, continuing the ban on government funding for abortion and requiring parental consent for abortions performed on minors.

Mrs. Dole, a former secretary of transportation and former secretary of labor, listed those goals as worthy and attainable in a letter to a supporter made public last week by her campaign. She stressed she was "pro-life," but called on her party to accept people who disagreed on the issue.

She wrote that she would support the idea of a constitutional ban on abortion if it were possible for such an amendment to be approved. "But of course, it's not," she wrote. "It's not going to happen because the American people do not support it."

The executive director of the Christian Coalition, Randy Tate, said the political environment within the party had evolved in a way that made statements such as Mrs. Dole's acceptable to many who oppose abortion.

Mr. Tate said many anti-abortion leaders had made a strategic decision to move the debate incrementally. "The end remains the same," he said, but the means have changed.

Mr. Quayle also is promoting a pragmatic approach. "You can pass a partial-birth abortion ban, and I would do that right away," he said last week.

He also suggested that only abortion foes should be named as federal judges. "That's about it for what you can achieve," he said.

Not every Republican hopeful agrees. Gary Bauer, who ran the conservative Family Research Council before stepping down to explore a run for president, issued a news release Monday challenging Mrs. Dole's "retreat" on abortion.

And Greg Mueller, a spokesman for the publisher Steve Forbes, said that as president Mr. Forbes would use "the bully pulpit" to promote a constitutional ban.

## Away From Politics

## In the Mirror, Quayle Sees a President

By David Von Drehle  
Washington Post Service

A 54-year-old Chilean immigrant and a five-in-baby sister in Braintree, Massachusetts, came forward Wednesday to claim the \$197 million Big Game jackpot, the largest lottery prize ever won by an individual in U.S. history. (AP)

Two Florida whooping cranes have produced the first eggs laid in the U.S. wild in decades, raising hopes that the birds will make a comeback. (AP)

In an assault on endangered species, a commercial fishing vessel hit a reef off the Hawaiian island of Kauai, spilling about 16,000 gallons of diesel fuel. (AP)

O.J. Simpson wrestled with a gunman who tried to rob him in the parking lot of a golf course in Los Angeles. Mr. Simpson, who was cleared in 1995 in his estranged wife's murder, chased the gunman in his car while calling the police on a cellular phone. He gave up because the man was running red lights and officers had pulled Mr. Simpson over. (AP)

early days of the drug AZT: "Are they taking DDT?"

And, "What a waste it is to lose one's mind." (He was trying for "A mind is a terrible thing to waste.")

That is not the way he sees himself. The Dan Quayle running for president is another character entirely.

Before the taunting and the ridicule, there was a young, bold, never-beaten Indiana superpol. Elected to Congress over an entrenched incumbent in 1976 at the age of 29, conqueror four years later of the liberal stalwart Birch Bayh to enter the Senate, victorious as vice president in 1988 at a mere 41.

This Dan Quayle decided to go flat-out for the vice presidency in 1988 because he was at roughly the same age at which Theodore and Franklin D. Roosevelt made their vice presidential bids. That is how Mr. Quayle sees himself. Having climbed so many steps so quickly, he cannot imagine stopping short of the top.

"He doesn't buy the media image of him," says Mr. Quayle's former chief of staff, William Kristol. "And if you don't buy the image, why wouldn't you run? He's the former vice president, he's been a successful politician all his life, and he sees no one else in the race to whom he should defer."

So it is that Dan Quayle, now 52, is sitting for an interview, laying out with calm self-confidence his plan for win-

ning the Republican presidential nomination. The American people are, he insists, fundamentally fair, and when he offers them his experience and his foreign policy expertise, they will consider him anew. He will explode to an early victory — a dazzling debate performance, perhaps, followed by a victory in the Iowa caucuses or the New Hampshire primary and then, zoom.

It's not easy chasing the White House. Some people run because opportunity knocks, some run to champion a particular agenda and some — maybe most — run because when they look in the mirror they see a president. Mr. Quayle is this last type.

Mr. Quayle says he began weighing a presidential bid in his 30s.

While he still shows no sign that he will ever become an orator, in his maturity he speaks with some poise and produces fewer blunders.

As a former vice president, he is the highest-ranking elected Republican official still in the fray. He has strong conservative credentials without a tinge of the extreme. He has had three children and just one wife.

But in the calculus of the Republican elite, those pluses can't offset the One Big Minus. The party's money people, strategists, local officials and apparatus have stampeded past their former vice president to embrace Governor George Bush of Texas.

## In Tomorrow's IHT

## Leisure

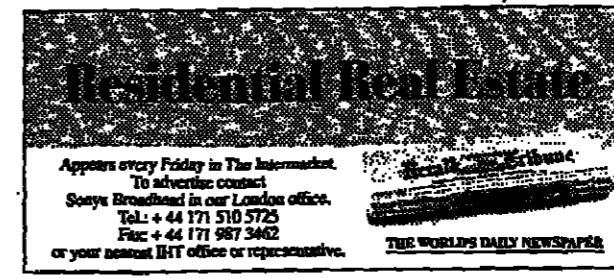
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**The Battle for Kosovo / A Ground Force for NATO Still Raises Questions**

# Months of Delay Seen Before Troops Could Enter Balkans Combat

By Bradley Graham  
Washington Post Service

**WASHINGTON** — Even as NATO leaders sidestep questions about the possibility of sending ground troops to Kosovo, some of the U.S. and European soldiers who could take part in an invasion have begun to assemble in Macedonia and Albania, countries from where, defense experts say, a ground assault would likely be launched.

A contingent of nearly 11,000 NATO troops is in Macedonia, sent there weeks ago to lead an expected peacekeeping force into Kosovo but now assisting refugees from the shattered Serbian province.

Anticipating an operation in Kosovo

— whether peace enforcement or combat — Britain announced that it was sending an additional 1,800 troops to Macedonia, equipped with tanks and other armored vehicles. France said it was sending 700 more soldiers.

In Albania, more than 2,000 of an expected NATO contingent of 8,000 troops have arrived, also to help with refugee relief efforts. They have no combat mission. But a U.S. Army task force being airlifted in — with AH-64A Apache helicopters, missile and rocket batteries, tanks and armored troop carriers — will be establishing the first reported staging area in Albania designed for cross-border operations against Yugoslav forces.

Defense officials disclosed that Gen-

eral Wesley Clark, the NATO commander, had requested doubling the number of Apaches slated to go, to 48 on April 24.

Still, military officials say the stationing of allied ground units along the southern rim of Yugoslavia has nothing to do with a NATO invasion force.

Any NATO attempt to invade Yugoslavia and seize territory, they add, likely would involve a much larger force, and it would require months to assemble and prepare for battle.

In the meantime, they say, there has been little detailed planning for such a force and no political decision to start down that path. Even units that are in the region but have been diverted to refugee relief operations would require extensive preparation ahead of an invasion.

"We can't have troops passing out blankets one day, and then tell those same forces to conduct combat operations the next," said retired General George Joulwan, General Clark's predecessor. "You've got to train the force; you've got to prepare them."

Preliminary estimates drawn up by alliance planners last summer found that 8,000 troops would be needed just to secure the border between Albania and Kosovo, the southernmost province of Serbia. 75,000 soldiers would be required for NATO to fight its way into Kosovo, and 200,000 troops would be necessary to win full control of Serbia, according to Pentagon officials.

Those assessments preceded the

NATO air strikes pounding Yugoslav air defenses and doing other damage that presumably would weaken the threat to NATO ground troops.

Nonetheless, a ground attack offers no easy alternative to NATO's air campaign, according to defense experts. They say NATO infantry units would still face formidable challenges from rugged terrain and determined resistance by Yugoslav troops, estimated at 40,000 in and around Kosovo before the bombing began.

The ground option has gained favor among many lawmakers and others who have argued that the United States and its allies should at least prepare for an invasion in the event NATO warplanes are unable to force President Slobodan Mi-

lošević to pull Yugoslav Army and special police units out of Kosovo. But military specialists say mounting such a ground operation would be tough and risky, especially against Yugoslav troops who have had ample opportunity to dig in and lay mines at the few entry routes into the remote province.

"In the present circumstances, the potential loss of life among our servicemen and women, to say nothing of civilians, would be considerable," Prime Minister Tony Blair said while announcing the dispatch of the additional British troops to Macedonia.

Clinton administration officials have expressed concern that any move to constitute an alliance invasion force would trigger a divisive debate that could undercut support here and in Europe for the air operation.

"The first thing that needs to be decided is the objective of an invasion," said a European diplomat involved in policy-making on Kosovo. "Would it be to flush Yugoslav forces out of Kosovo and return the refugees, or kick Milosevic out of Belgrade? Whichever of those you choose will have significant implications on the size of the force required and the means to be used."

Geographically, an assault from Hungary, north of Serbia, into Belgrade would be most inviting because it would take NATO forces across largely flat, open terrain, according to military specialists. But it also would require the largest force and likely would encounter the greatest resistance from Serbian forces determined to defend their homeland and capital.

A more limited attack aimed solely at securing Kosovo would involve fewer NATO forces, but finding routes into the province across the mountainous borders with Macedonia and Albania poses formidable difficulties. Just establishing ports, airfields and staging areas for massing tens of thousands of NATO troops in these two countries, which are among Europe's poorest, presents logistic nightmares.

"Not only are the border crossings themselves difficult, but the routes to them are pretty nonexistent," the diplomat said.

"In Albania, there's not much of a rail network and the airports are poor. In Macedonia, you have at least a couple of main rail routes but there's only one main road basically up from the port of Thessaloniki."

Yugoslav forces, in evident preparation to defend against NATO invasion, have been digging in along both major routes into Kosovo from Macedonia, scooping out trenches and building bunkers, according to defense officials. They also have been laying mines along Kosovo borders.



Rebels from the Kosovo Liberation Army heading off to the front lines along the Albanian border Wednesday.

Continued from Page 1

Apparently hoping to avoid a bloody deadlock, the plan for a first step to settle the Kosovo crisis was put forward by Foreign Minister Joschka Fischer of Germany, which now holds the rotating EU presidency.

Germany's coalition government, led by Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder, a Social Democrat, includes the Greens, a party whose pacifist roots must be kept in mind by Mr. Fischer himself a Green.

At NATO, Mr. Shea said that the German suggestion was "useful and necessary to start reflection on how we are going to handle the diplomacy of the end-game" and get acceptance of NATO's terms.

In Washington, Joe Lockhart, the White House spokesman, said: "We will address a potential cessation of bombing when we get there."

But James Rubin, the State Department spokesman, said the German suggestion was constructive and "within NATO parameters."

The full details of Mr. Fischer's plan, as reported from Bonn, were likely to be more controversial, even though they seemed to be less of an olive branch to Mr. Milosevic than an attempt to enlist Moscow's backing for an intensified peace effort in parallel with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization air war, which has alienated Russian leaders and many citizens.

For that, Mr. Fisher seemed ready to move away from NATO's insistence on a robust core force to handle peace-keeping in Kosovo and replace it with a UN force.

Once a Serbian pullout has been completed, the plan said, NATO would "permanently suspend" air strikes.

A three-stage process would follow: a heavily armed UN military force would

move into Kosovo as Serbian forces withdrew, Kosovo refugees would return and Kosovo would be put under UN administration until completion of a permanent peace settlement.

A UN command role would almost certainly be unacceptable to the United States and to Britain and France, all of which were frustrated by shortcomings of the UN effort in Bosnia until NATO intervened.

But some UN role, in European eyes, offsets the precedent of NATO attacking Serbia without an explicit mandate from the Security Council, an initiative that the allies agreed was essential to circumvent a Russian veto.

European officials said that they wanted to pre-empt any UN attempt to enshrine this degree of independence in alliance doctrine at the NATO summit meeting in Washington this month.

Defending their plan and also explaining Mr. Annan's presence at the EU summit meeting, German officials said that they hoped to strike a chord with Moscow and draw Russia away from Belgrade into a diplomatic front against Mr. Milosevic.

Mr. Annan, who met earlier with NATO officials and with Prime Minister Tony Blair of Britain, has been cautious about any role he might play.

The overture to Moscow was backed by France and by the Clinton administration. Officials in Washington have said that President Boris Yeltsin has been put on the defensive in his own country against nationalists. Mr. Yeltsin, while denouncing the NATO strikes against a fellow Slavic country, has avoided any move to help Belgrade militarily.

President Alexander Lukashenko of Belarus reportedly met in Belgrade on Wednesday with Mr. Milosevic. Mr. Lukashenko, the first foreign leader to visit Belgrade since the start of the NATO bombing campaign three weeks

ago, was exploring Serbian interest in joining a loose pact between Belarus and Russia.

Reports of his Belgrade visit prompted a quick warning from Moscow against any attempt to drag Russia into a military conflict over Kosovo.

So far, there have been no signs of any divergences among allied governments about the war with Mr. Milosevic, even in countries such as Italy and Greece, where the NATO campaign is unpopular and could become a political problem as the conflict intensifies.

NATO warplanes were reported Wednesday to have hit Serbia's power-generating system for the first time. The

loss of electricity affects civilians as much as the military, and the new targeting suggested that NATO, while continuing to cut bridges and supply lines to isolate and weaken Serbian forces in Kosovo, was also going to make the war more painful for ordinary Serbians.

The air strike on the Bistrica hydroelectric power plant was accompanied by an attack on a major food-processing factory in Vajevje, amid reports of food rationing in Serbia for the first time.

Militarily, NATO spokesmen said that allied military prospects were improving with the prospect of better flying weather as more aircraft arrived, including the first Apache ground attack heli-

copers, which are expected in the region in the next few days.

Another potential flashpoint was the presence of the tiny Serbian Navy in Montenegro, the small Yugoslav republic on the Adriatic that has been trying to keep out of the conflict and that is now in a dispute with Belgrade about the water.

Arguing that the Serbian vessels are liable to draw NATO fire, protesters in Montenegro have called for them to leave.

But Yugoslavia has no port outside Montenegro and might use any threat to the ships' presence as a pretext to overthrow the pro-Western government.

## KIDS: Tents for Lucky Ones

Continued from Page 1

they have not found a source of disposable diapers.

Life in Kukes: It is unimaginably bad in Week 3 for the refugees, and for children it is unimaginably worse.

There are no sinks, no showers, no toilets, no toilet paper. The water is giving more and more children diarrhea, and without toilet paper the only thing parents can use to clean their children is the very water that is making them ill.

There are also increasing numbers of cases of scabies, head lice and bronchitis, and as of Monday seven cases of measles had been reported.

"My goodness," Olara Otunnu, UN undersecretary for children in armed conflict, kept saying as he toured the refugee camps.

And then there is the matter of toys.

"The children are playing with garbage," Elvana Zhezhia, of the Albanian Center for Human Rights, told Mr. Otunnu.

On the day before, when Carol Bellamy, head of Unicef, was touring Kukes and asked Ms. Zhezhia what was needed, she said, "Everything." So far, though, nothing has arrived.

"Maybe today," she is saying. She is standing near the mosque, near the steps, which have become an unofficial headquarters for the relief efforts aimed specifically at children. She is helping to coordinate a therapy program for traumatized children. She wants colored pencils for them to draw with. She wants paper and dolls and balls.

All that Ms. Zhezhia has, though, is a team of three people who have taken a two-week course on psychosocial trauma therapy. One of them, a doctor named Feride Rushiti, is leading dozens of children in what amounts to an attempt at group therapy.

She motions them into a circle. One by one, they tell quiet stories about what happened to them in Kosovo, and then they recite verses they learned when they lived in a place that had schools to teach them poems.

That is about all Dr. Rushiti can do at

the point with the children, other than pat their backs or rub their heads or touch their cheeks or hold their hands, which she does over and over.

"When will we go back to Kosovo?" they ask Ms. Zhezhia every day.

"Soon," she always tells them.

"Very soon," which is the answer she tells herself as well. She, too, is from

an ethnic Albanian refugee carrying a crying child Wednesday through a refugee camp marked by mud puddles in Kukes, Albania. About 100,000 refugees from the Kosovo fighting are now in the northern town of Kukes.

At this point with the children, other than pat their backs or rub their heads or touch their cheeks or hold their hands, which she does over and over.

"When will we go back to Kosovo?" they ask Ms. Zhezhia every day.

"Soon," she always tells them.

"Very soon," which is the answer she tells herself as well. She, too, is from

Kosovo; she, too, wants to go back.

"If you say, 'Not soon,' they will be more depressed than they are," she said after the children scattered from the steps and she was in a Unicef car on the way to other parts of Kukes.

But as the car moved along the street, she was the one depressed enough to lean her head against the window and cry.

**CONVOY: Yugoslavia Reports 75 Refugees Killed in NATO Raid**

Continued from Page 1

in the village of Zrze, six people were killed and 11 wounded. In another one, in the village of Meja, 64 people were killed and 20 wounded, including three Serb policemen who were escorting the convoy.

The village of Meja is near Djakovica in western Kosovo. Zrze is on the road between Djakovica and Prizren, further south.

No independent confirmation was immediately available.

On the Albanian side of the border, an aid worker said he had spoken to refugees who witnessed the attack and could not say whether the aircraft were NATO planes.

Nebosja Vujovic, a Yugoslav Foreign Ministry spokesman, said, "NATO bombs created a new humanitarian ca-

trophe and tragedy, bombing the two convoys of refugees returning to their homes" from the border with Albania.

"The bodies are literally littered on the highway," he said, denouncing the strike as a "crime against humanity."

The attacks occurred at 1 P.M. and between 2:20 P.M. and 3 P.M., Yugoslav sources said.

Pictures taken by a Reuters photog-

rapher, escorted to the scene by Serbian officials, also showed people with horrific face injuries being treated and a small boy wandering through the scene carrying a plastic bag.

At least two tractors and a horse and cart were visible on the road, which was strewn with mattresses, pillows and blankets as well as human remains.

(AP, AP, Reuters, IHT)

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**The Battle for Kosovo / The State of War Does Not Mean That Civic Courage Should Be Trampled Upon'**

## A Dissenting Voice in Belgrade

**Deputy Prime Minister Attacks Alliance With Russia and Belarus**

By Steven Erlanger  
New York Times Service

**BELGRADE** — The most liberal member of the Yugoslav government has sharply attacked the use of Serbian wartime patriotism for ideological and political ends, throwing down an indirect challenge to President Slobodan Milosevic and his nationalist and leftist allies, including Mr. Milosevic's wife.

In two extraordinary statements over the last two days, the deputy prime minister of Yugoslavia, Vuk Draskovic, has become the only official voice to condemn both the murder on Sunday of an opposition publisher, Slavko Curuvija, and proposals for Yugoslavia to form an alliance with Russia and Belarus.

"May Slavko Curuvija be the first and last victim of those in Serbia who want to start the mad spiral of fratricide," Mr. Draskovic said Monday night on the Belgrade television station, Studio B, which is controlled by his Serbian Renewal

Movement, which governs Belgrade.

He also called on political parties not to manipulate the patriotism and unity of the Serbs in wartime, saying: "All parties should temporarily bury their differences and insights," attacking in particular the re-emergence of the old communist partisan flag with its red star.

On Tuesday, Mr. Draskovic went further in attacking the idea of an alliance with Russia and Belarus, which won overwhelming support Monday from the Yugoslav Parliament.

The alliance is strongly supported by the Yugoslav Left Party of Mr. Milosevic's powerful wife, Mira Markovic, who envisions a new communist bloc with Yugoslavia at its heart. President Alexander Lukashenko of Belarus was expected in Belgrade on Wednesday to meet with Mr. Milosevic.

"There are political forces who think we should enter the 21st century on the ruins of a destroyed state," Mr. Draskovic said. "They think we should pick

up picks and shovels with the same songs, the same iconography, and 50 years later, start building communism all over again. This must not happen."

He also attacked the ultranationalistic Radical Party of Deputy Prime Minister Vojislav Seselj for bringing its own banners and pictures of Mr. Seselj to the daily Belgrade rock concerts organized by the city. When they did so Monday, the organizers asked them to put down their banners, and the rock band, Del Ante, stopped playing until the Seselj followers dispersed.

If such efforts to misuse and manipulate unity continue, Mr. Draskovic said, the concerts will stop. "And I don't believe that anyone has the right to lower their heads while journalists are being murdered," Mr. Draskovic continued. "The state of war does not mean that civic courage should be trampled upon."

Mr. Draskovic, who was one of the leaders of the pro-democracy demonstrations of 1996 and 1997, joined the



Deputy Prime Minister Vuk Draskovic challenges the regime.

Milosevic government last year in what his former allies considered an act of opportunism. Mr. Draskovic failed to win support for a compromise on Kosovo that might have prevented the NATO bombing campaign. But since the bombing began, he has become an effective spokesman for the Serbian cause.

## War Crimes Panel Seeks NATO Aid on Milosevic

**Alliance Slow to Give Evidence, Officials Say**

By Marlise Simons  
New York Times Service

**THE HAGUE** — Prosecutors at the international war crimes tribunal have built a strong case to indict President Slobodan Milosevic of Yugoslavia, diplomats and lawyers close to the tribunal say. But they say the prosecutors are depending on NATO governments for crucial links that they need to bolster their case.

The tribunal still refuses to confirm officially that it is investigating Mr. Milosevic. But prosecutors concede that they have been pursuing the Yugoslav leadership.

"It is right to say that our focus is at the top end," said Graham Blewitt, the deputy prosecutor of the tribunal, which was set up by the United Nations in 1993. The diplomats say tribunal investigators have focused on Mr. Milosevic for almost a year.

As reports of Yugoslav forces killing and terrorizing ethnic Albanians have grown, the court has been inundated with questions about when it will indict Mr. Milosevic on war crimes charges.

Officials at the tribunal have responded with frustration, saying they have been delayed because NATO member countries have been slow to provide vital information about the inner workings of the Yugoslav political and military command.

Investigators say the issue is not to collect evidence of more crimes in Kosovo. Rather, they argue, they need to demonstrate what orders were given, who was involved and what knowledge commanders had of crimes committed by subordinates.

"Of course we have a lot of evidence of crime in Kosovo," Mr. Blewitt said. "We can now indict people in the chain of command. But it's a question of what level. We could go faster if we had the right evidence about the top."

The chief prosecutor, Louise Arbour, will visit NATO headquarters in Brussels on Wednesday to ask the allies for greater cooperation in sharing their intelligence. The information she needs is likely to be highly classified and includes interceptions of radio, telephone or computer communications, which NATO countries have so far withheld.

NATO and British and American officials have said they have information that they will give the tribunal.

"But we're not seeing the goods," Mr. Blewitt said. "We're not getting anywhere near what we're expecting."

Tribunal officials said the information would shore up the cases they were building. "We want an indictment only when it will result in a conviction," Mr. Blewitt said.

Making the link between Mr. Milosevic and the reported brutal action of his forces in Kosovo appears simple enough: he is the Yugoslav head of state and commander in chief of the armed forces, and Kosovo, a Serbian province, is part of Yugoslavia.

From a legal point of view, tribunal investigators say, it is easier to hold Mr. Milosevic accountable now than during the war in Bosnia, which he instigated and backed but from which he took care to keep a formal distance as president of Serbia.

Mr. Milosevic has shown himself very adept at avoiding paper trails and



Mr. Milosevic, back to camera, embracing President Alexander Lukashenko of Belarus, in Belgrade for state visit Wednesday.

evading interceptions during the war that broke up Yugoslavia, specialists say.

He can also answer some of the prosecution charges. For example, one investigator said, in the case of Kosovo, Mr. Milosevic can produce a written order saying that all troops in the Yugoslav Army must behave in accordance with the law and that any offenses against civilians or criminal acts will be punished severely.

Prosecutors said they needed information that not only supported an indictment but could also be used in court.

"In the past we have been given leads and intelligence, and then we go back to the source and say we'd like to use this in the courtroom," Mr. Blewitt said. "Then they say no, because they do not want to expose their intelligence-gathering methods or compromise their sources."

Part of the debate outside the tribunal is whether NATO allies want to see Mr. Milosevic indicted at this point, since it could be difficult to negotiate with him once he was formally charged as a war crimes suspect.

Tribunal officials said they had not been subjected to pressure by governments to indict senior Yugoslav officials or to withhold indictments. Pressure has come from public opinion and from questions asked by the press, they said.

"There seems to be an expectation that something is going to happen right now," Mr. Blewitt said.

That expectation may also exist in Yugoslavia. For three weeks the Yugoslav Embassy in The Hague has had no dealings with the tribunal, refusing to accept letters, documents and even telephone calls, an official said.

### ■ Serb Militia Leader Indicted

Tribunal prosecutors have indicted the Serb paramilitary leader known as Arkan with at least three categories of war crimes, including crimes against humanity, according to court documents released Wednesday, Reuters reported.

Mrs. Arbour said March 31 that Zeljko Raznatovic, also known as Arkan, was named on a sealed indictment that dated from September 1997. She gave no details of the charges at the time, but said she was serving an arrest warrant to Yugoslavia.

## 5,000 Refugees Cross Border to Macedonia

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

**BLACE, Macedonia** — At least 5,000 Kosovo Albanians arrived at the Macedonian border post of Blace on Wednesday, a spokeswoman for the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees said Wednesday.

Two consecutive waves of 2,000 refugees crossed at Blace, the spokeswoman, Paula Ghoshini, said. A thousand others were massed around the western Macedonian town of Lojane, she said.

The refugees came by train, bus and car and appeared to be in good shape, the spokeswoman said. "They came with their families," she said, and most had identity documents and valuables.

A few drove across the border at Blace in their cars. Others skirted minefields and walked along the railway until they were stopped by border guards and directed through the fields to the Blace checkpoint. They were then put on buses and taken to refugee camps.

Many appeared to have traveled on a regular morning train earlier that such a steady stream of people had moved across the Blace border crossing.

Fears for hundreds of thousands of ethnic Albanians thought to be stranded in the hills of Kosovo grew Wednesday as both the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the UN refugee agency admitted they did not know where they were.

Sadako Ogata, head of the UN agency, said after talks with the NATO secretary-general, Javier Solana Madariaga, that her office was "gaining control" of the refugee situation in the countries bordering Kosovo.

"We have turned the situation around, but I am very worried about those in Kosovo," she said. "We do not know exactly how many they are."

Mr. Solana said the alliance was looking at the possibility of organizing air drops of food and other supplies to the displaced people. But he cautioned: "It is a very, very difficult situation. We do not know where the majority of the people are."

Separately, the United Nations' Food and Agriculture Organization warned that Kosovo faced a long-term food shortage because most crops had been destroyed or abandoned unharvested in the fields and new crops had not been planted.

"Apart from the direct human consequences, the Kosovo crisis has devastated the agricultural and food-processing industries, resulting in a severe reduction in food output, supplies and food availability," it said.

The Rome-based agency said that even if refugees were allowed to return to their homes, massive international relief assistance would be needed to feed the population until agricultural production was restored. (AFP, Reuters, AP)

## REPUBLIC OF CAPE VERDE

### Announcement of Privatisation By International Public Tender of State Owned Financial Sector Institutions

The Unidade de Coordenação do Projeto de Privatizações e Regulação Institucional (Privatization Unit) of the Republic of Cape Verde, in accordance with the Law on Privatization of the Republic of Cape Verde, Decree Law 70/98 and Resolution 74/98 of 31st December, 1998 announces the sale, by international public tender, of state owned shares in three (3) financial sector institutions with interlocking shareholdings, according to the following criteria and terms: (i) as a financial group, or (ii) as three separate individual institutions, and/or (iii) any combination thereof.

Name	Type of Institution	No of State Owned Shares	No of Shares for this bid	% of Institution for this bid
BCA	Commercial Bank	775.000	525.000	52.50
GARANTIA	Insurance Company	96.620	91.789	45.895*
PROMOTORA	Venture Capital Company	255.000	180.000	40.000*

\*The Government will contractually ensure that management control will be held by the successful bidder

The bid package containing the *Confidential Information Memoranda* and other pertinent bid documents may be acquired at a cost of Euro 20.000 Euros from the Privatization Unit (UPR) at Largo do Cruzeiro - Ténis, Praia, Cabo Verde, telephone (238) 61 23 19, Fax (238) 61 23 34, email: [cypprivatization@mail.cvtelecom.cv](mailto:cypprivatization@mail.cvtelecom.cv).

Any request of information, questions or clarification regarding the bidding process may be addressed to the Bid Committee at the Privatization Unit, at the above indicated address.

The bid proposals must be submitted by 16h00, local time on Friday, July 9, 1999, at the office of the Privatization Unit, Largo do Cruzeiro - Ténis, Praia, Cabo Verde, in wax sealed envelopes according to the instructions contained in the Resolution n°74/98 of December 31, 1998, published in the official gazette n°48, Serie I.

The bid proposals opening session will take place at 10h00, local time on Monday, 12th July, 1999 in the Ministry of Finance, Praia, Cabo Verde.



Kosovar refugees waiting beside a line of 20 buses near the border crossing at Blace, Macedonia.

# P Herald INTERNATIONAL Tribune

PUBLISHED WITH THE NEW YORK TIMES AND THE WASHINGTON POST

## Election in Algeria

Algeria's presidential election on Thursday offers an opportunity to end a seven-year civil war between the army and Islamic guerrillas that has cost more than 75,000 lives. But for that to happen, the ruling generals must permit an honest vote count and allow the winner to govern freely.

As the campaign has proceeded, the army has made clear its preference for former Foreign Minister Abdelaziz Bouteflika, making him a strong favorite. Surprisingly, however, several opposition candidates have been allowed to wage competitive campaigns.

The leading challengers are Ahmed Taleb Ibrahimi, who is endorsed by many of the Islamic groups that began the insurgency, and former Prime Minister Mouloud Hamrouche, who advocates democratic and market reforms.

Unless the front-runner gets more than 50 percent of the vote Thursday, he must face the next-highest fin-

## Debate on Kosovo

As the air war over Yugoslavia heads toward its fourth week, pressure is building on President Bill Clinton to send ground forces into battle. Critics of the NATO campaign are right to open a debate about military and diplomatic options, and the planning for all contingencies should begin. But there should be no illusions about the difficulties and potential costs of a land war. A great deal more bombing and diplomacy should be employed before the United States makes any fateful decisions about the use of ground troops.

Though the air war has progressed slowly, and has done little to impede the Serbian march across Kosovo, it is inflicting heavy damage on Serbia's military and industrial base. Given time, the attacks can wear down Slobodan Milosevic's resistance and make his people impatient to end the bombing. It is certainly premature to conclude that air strikes are not enough and only an invasion can secure NATO's political and military goals. Mr. Milosevic well knows that the steady destruction of oil refineries, weapons factories, ammunition supplies and communication networks will eventually cripple his military forces, and possibly undermine his political power.

As painful as the air war may sometimes be in Serbia — on Monday a NATO missile severed a rail bridge, killing at least nine people as a passing train was knocked into a river — NATO must sustain the attacks. Unlike the Serbian assault on Kosovo, the alliance is not deliberately targeting civilians. NATO's 19 members have agreed to continue the aerial bombardment, a sign of unity and determination that Mr. Milosevic should consider carefully as he tries to sow division within the alliance.

Diplomacy also needs time to work.

— THE NEW YORK TIMES.

## Nuclear Adventure

India already had missiles to carry nuclear warheads to Pakistan, its regional rival. With its test Sunday of a ballistic missile with a range of 2,400 kilometers, it now may also have a way to hit major prospective targets in China, its strategic rival. As a bow to India's image as a power fit to play the global game, the Agni II makes its own considerable nationalist and geopolitical contribution. The cost to regional stability, however, comes high.

It was India's nuclear tests last May that triggered a reluctant Pakistan's own tests. These blasts put a burden on both South Asian states to head off any further nuclear racing. The United States responded with a mediating shuttle fixed on advancing nuclear arms control and on drawing India and Pakistan into negotiation on their politi-

— THE WASHINGTON POST.

## Other Comment

### Early Jitters About Y2K

Imaginative observers claim to have identified up to 31 so-called "trigger dates" in 1999 that could spark computer problems related to the millennium bug. The good news is that most of those 1999 doomsday predictions are farfetched. Some have already passed without problems.

For reasons that remain unclear, Jan. 1, 1999, was listed by some as a trigger date for computers to go haywire. Nothing happened. Another date was

— Los Angeles Times.

## Herald INTERNATIONAL Tribune

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## Adding a Moral Dimension to Military Intervention

By William Pfaff

PARIS — Kosovo is not an affair for which international law has an answer. The search for its solution cannot be confined within the political categories of ethnic rivalry, sovereignty versus insurrection, or redrawn frontiers.

It has a moral dimension that sets it apart. The Serbian campaign to uproot, displace and deport a large part of Kosovo's Albanian population is of a savagery unknown in Western Europe, outside the former Yugoslavia, since the second World War.

Mr. Milosevic and his government

are attempting to solve their Kosovo problem by producing a basic demographic change in the province through deporting its Albanian population, the overwhelming majority.

According to German government sources, this program for purging Kosovo of its Albanian population was prepared at the end of last year under the code name "Horseshoe." Its initial purpose was to defeat or neutralize the Kosovo Liberation Army, in rebellion against Serbia. In terms of Serbia's internationally recognized, if abusive, sovereignty over Kosovo, this was a legitimate objective.

The government's experience in op-

erations against the Kosovo Liberation Army during the fall of 1998, which displaced 300,000 people, proved unsatisfactory, since the displaced Kosovars eventually returned home and the KLA's resistance to the Serbs resumed.

Horseshoe was designed to produce a permanent solution, and was launched even before the Rambouillet discussions in February, which the Serbian leadership did not take seriously.

Washington has until recently treated Slobodan Milosevic as a Balkan rogue, indispensable in solving the problems of its own policies have created. Moreover, he has repeatedly been elected to lead the country. While these elections were not models of good practice, their outcomes make it hard to deny his electoral legitimacy. This is a deeply dismaying part of the situation.

However, we all were greatly underestimating him. The Serbian president's decision to displace a major part of the Albanian population from their homes, expelling them in an unimaginably brutal way, employing terror, and presumably, as happened earlier in Bosnia, mass executions, demonstrates

that he possesses a moral imagination which merits his comparison with Hitler and Stalin. He acts on a grand scale.

The human consequences of his acts do not interest him. He is on the way to destroying not only Kosovo but Serbia for the sake of his own power.

His actions have contaminated the otherwise European accomplishment of the past 50 years, the reconciliation of European peoples and the institution of reconciliation in the European Union (and in NATO). The unforgivable things being done in Kosovo have no place in this modern Europe.

NATO has actually intervened in Serbia out of long-developing but ultimately decisive moral outrage. What it has done lacks UN sanction or logical consistency with the past. It is on a new course, but not an unprecedented one.

The principle of absolute sovereignty has been challenged in a number of recent developments, including creation of an international war crimes court and the assertion of a right to humanitarian intervention.

NATO's current action will have been wasted as a precedent if what comes out of it is merely a cynical lesson about unilateral action ultimately subordinated to domestic pol-

itics. Worse would be if the humanitarian principle were betrayed by a NATO compromise with Mr. Milosevic, leaving him the implicit victor.

We need to formulate grounds for dispassionate international intervention in cases where international morality and good order are outraged. It is difficult and potentially dangerous to do so. Yet the international community seems to be moving erratically and hesitantly toward such a code. A precedent of a kind, unsatisfactory but significant, lay in the intervention of the Organization of African Unity into the frightful and mindless carnage occurring inside Liberia.

To be validated as a lesson for the future, this NATO intervention in Serbia must succeed. It must not fail until the refugees have been returned, with Kosovo secured under some provisional arrangement that awaits a generally agreed Balkan settlement with a changed government in Belgrade, and with Mr. Milosevic and his responsible colleagues charged as war criminals. That is a tall order, but it is what NATO's leaders have already said they mean to do. That means that anything less is failure.

International Herald Tribune.

Los Angeles Times Syndicate.

## Indonesia Gains Momentum for Its First Open Election

By Philip Bowring

JAKARTA — The communal horrors of East Timor, Ambon and West Kalimantan are real enough. But they no more describe Indonesia than Kashmir, Bihar and Assam describe India.

More remarkable is how stable the heartland, Java, now seems after 18 months of political and economic crisis and the battle of 48 parties for votes in the country's first open parliamentary election June 7. It could be the calm before another storm. Some electioneering violence is inevitable, if only because of the size of crowds that can be generated on a densely populated island. But despite the excitement of elections, and despite regional, religious and income divides, there is an air of normalcy.

The main players have moved toward the center to broaden their appeal and prepare the way for future alliances. The poll will be inconclusive, so coalitions are inevitable. One such player has been Amien Rais, the head of the Muhammadiyah Islamic organization and of the PAN, or National Mandate

Party. Previously feared by secularists and Chinese, he has shifted from a strongly Muslim and redistributionist agenda to one broadly attractive to the urban middle class — and even backed by Chinese money.

Megawati Sukarnoputri, the daughter of Indonesia's founding leader, President Sukarno, is saying little about policy, but her Indonesian Democratic Party is widely tipped to emerge as the largest party and has been developing links to military figures and professional, secularist rebels from the governing Golkar party.

The strongest force at work at the grass roots is not ideology but simply a desire to participate. For every member of the old elite who fears elections and wants to see them disrupted, there are at least two who want the vote to show that the nation is capable of political development.

Suspicions that the elections might be rigged or popular will might be thwarted by the mil-

itary still exist. There is evidence of high-placed stirring in Ambon. In remote areas, Golkar may use the government machinery in its favor, although in some case it will fare better in areas outside Java, which have been less affected by the economic crisis. There is concern that even if Golkar genuinely does well, the masses of Java who demand real change will take to the streets.

In theory, a big Golkar showing could thwart change. Add in the 38 military seats in the 500-member Parliament and most of the 200 indirectly elected and appointed seats in the 700-member People's Consultative Assembly — which selects the president — and Golkar could remain in control.

In practice, however, that seems unlikely. Golkar itself is factionalized, with different groups — Islamists, liberal secularists, upholders of the status quo — having different ideas on whether to support the election of President B.J. Habibie.

Moreover, the electoral commission, which oversees the election, has a broad base and

has established an independent reputation.

There are dangers that some groups will use violence to disrupt the democratic process. A bigger danger may be that horse trading and money politics at the consultative assembly will deliver a president whose support is broad-based but derived from compromises that make weak government inevitable.

Such a government may fail to live up to demands for reform.

The most ardent reformers are themselves divided into the secular and Islamist camps represented respectively by the Indonesian Democratic Party and PAN. Islamist parties, and even the Indonesian Democratic Party, are themselves muddled and interleaved with strands of nationalist, statist and free-market thinking.

Indonesia is trying to progress to the point where unity is fostered by participation, not all along party lines. There is a unique opportunity for the government, which is having to build out the banking system, to acquire bankrupt assets on behalf of the most indigenous people. But that would mean political turmoil.

The run-up to the election reveals a society developing its political system under intense economic pressure. Despite the recession, most politicians have an international outlook, and even the Indonesian Democratic Party, are themselves muddled and interleaved with strands of nationalist, statist and free-market thinking.

Protest voting — for Japan's Communist Party and, on occasion, for celebrities — is on the rise. Urban voters are especially alienated from the old system. Both trends came together on Sunday, when Suharto's son, an outspoken nationalist running as an independent, won election as the new governor of Tokyo. The LDP candidate ran fourth.

Membership in other traditional institutions, including both business groups and labor unions, is on the decline. Takechi Yoshi, executive vice president of Nippon Steel and leader of Japan's big business group, the Keidanren, noted that the only two parties with firm bases of support are the Communists and the religiously based Clean Government Party, the Komeito.

Yet the LDP hangs on, adapting itself to whatever the political market seems to demand.

And Japanese voters are understandably ambivalent about change. The economic miracle is now in trouble, but it was a miracle nonetheless. Japan's egalitarian policies have created a good life for most.

The party trying to supplant the LDP, the Democratic Party, is attempting to capture the ambivalence. The slogan of this recently created amalgam of smaller parties and LDP defectors — "building a free and secure society" — promises to maximize the opportunities that might flow from loosening things up while minimizing the risks of change.

Its leaders square another circle by praising two rather different British politicians, Margaret Thatcher and Tony Blair. Eisai Ito, the Democratic Party's vice president, explained that the party seeks "a viable combination" of their policies by creating a free market with a stronger social "safety net."

The Democrats' hope is that the LDP will eventually split and help them create a modified two-party system. But Baum Kaida, a Democratic Party member of Parliament, conceded that since "power is the glue holding the LDP together," it will not break up until it loses power — the very calamity it is so skilled at avoiding.

So Japan is pregnant with the possibility of big change, yet no one knows how it will happen or how much of it the country really wants.

The Washington Post.

## Japanese Politics Is Falling Victim to Voter Alienation

By E. J. Dionne Jr.

TOKYO — A revolt against old parties, spurred by a sluggish economy and voter alienation from the system, is creating an upheaval in Japanese politics.

To talk about a Japanese voter revolt is strange, since the cautious, consensus-building Liberal Democratic Party has governed Japan with only a brief interruption since 1955. The party that presided over Japan's emergence as a world economic power defines the political establishment.

It forged iron bonds among

big business and a powerful government bureaucracy. Japanese politics flowed from "a stream of personal relations," said Yasushi Shiozaki, a Liberal Democratic member of Japan's upper house of Parliament. The Liberal Democratic Party "is a kind of small village in the countryside." Everybody knows everybody's business and remembers, sometimes fondly, all the old brawls. Corruption scandals could be survived as long as the economy was good.

Heretical thoughts are the new orthodoxy. The myth that

the Japanese civil service is the

finest in the world is collapsing," said Takashi Kosugi, a former education minister and LDP parliamentarian. What is under challenge, said Yoshiro Senzoku, an official of the opposition Democratic Party, is "the closed nature of Japanese society."

Protest voting — for Japan's

Communist Party and, on occa-

sion, for celebrities — is on

the rise. Urban voters are espe-

cially

## OPINION/LETTERS

## In Clinton Contempt Case, Judge Is Legally Wrong

By Nathan Lewin

WASHINGTON — In her electrifying announcement that she will punish President Bill Clinton for civil contempt because he gave "false, misleading and evasive answers" during the deposition taken by Paula Jones's lawyers, Judge Susan Webber Wright of Federal District Court was right on the facts, but wrong on the law. If Mr. Clinton chooses to appeal her ruling, he should win.

Why? Civil contempt does not apply in this case. Since the Jones lawsuit, which charged Mr. Clinton with sexual misconduct, has been settled, the president may be sanctioned only under the rules that govern criminal proceedings.

And if he were charged with criminal contempt, Mr. Clinton would presumably be entitled — as was Susan McDougal in her trial on obstruction of justice and criminal contempt — to a jury trial and other protections, including the requirement that his guilt be proved beyond a reasonable doubt. These protections may not be evaded by classifying an after-the-fact punitive contempt finding as "civil."

Federal law gives judges circumscribed powers to punish parties, witnesses or lawyers during a court case in order to make the wheels of justice run smoothly. If a witness refuses to testify, the judge may threaten and then actually imprison him or her. That is "civil" contempt — traditionally viewed as jailing in which, in the often-quoted words of a federal court almost a century ago, the prisoner "carries the keys of his prison in his own pocket." If he complies with the court's order and testifies, he is freed.

Criminal contempt, however, looks to the past, not the future. It is punishment for what the witness did or failed to do. Judge Wright said Monday that she had to impose the contempt sanction because Mr. Clinton "deliberately violated this court's discovery orders and thereby undermined the integrity of the judicial system."

Punishment was needed, she added, "not only to redress the president's misconduct, but to deter others who might themselves consider emulating the president of the United States by engaging in misconduct that undermines the

integrity of the judicial system." Punishment, however, is the function of a criminal court, not of a civil court decree that keeps a case (or an investigation) moving along. The rule of civil procedure that Judge Wright invoked — Rule 37(b)(2) — makes it clear that her authority to impose civil contempt sanctions persists only so long as her court is one "in which the action is pending."

The Paula Jones case is, of course, no longer "pending" in her court. The president's lawyers settled the case, for \$850,000, in November. And Judge Wright's contempt order is not intended to obtain any future testimony or future discovery of documents. Hence her power to exercise civil contempt authority is gone.

Mrs. McDougal's case is a textbook example of the difference between civil and criminal contempt. After she refused to answer the questions of Kenneth Starr, the independent counsel, about Whitewater, she went to jail, but the keys to her freedom were in her pocket. Had she testified, she would have been released.

Only a criminal contempt charge could punish her for refusing to testify. Once the criminal contempt accusation was filed, she became entitled to a trial by jury and to all the safeguards guaranteed by the criminal process.

The independent counsel's office could not simply invoke "civil contempt" and thereby punish her for what she had done in the past — even if the punishment's purpose was, in Judge Wright's words, "to redress... misconduct" and "to deter others" who might consider emulating her disobedience.

In the Monica Lewinsky case, Judge Wright can no longer punish Mr. Clinton.

It is generally agreed that a sitting president cannot be prosecuted on criminal charges. Short of a plea bargain, the only choice is to wait until 2001, when Mr. Starr may seek an indictment. An unsatisfactory resolution perhaps, but the only legally sound one.

The writer was the lawyer for Attorney General Edwin Meese 3d in an independent counsel investigation conducted in 1987 and 1988. He contributed this comment to *The New York Times*.

## BOOKS

## TAKING LIVES

By Michael Pye. 295 pages.  
\$23. Alfred A. Knopf.

Reviewed by Michiko Kakutani

**I**N the 1975 Antonioni film "The Passenger," a disaffected journalist exchanges identities with a man he finds dead in a hotel room, and soon finds himself pursued by the man's wife, friends and enemies. A similar premise underlies Michael Pye's engaging new novel, "Taking Lives," a philosophical thriller about a serial killer who takes on his victims' identities.

As in Pye's accomplished 1996 novel, "The Drowning Room," we are introduced to a curiously amoral and opportunistic protagonist whose identity is constructed around a secret. And as in that earlier novel, we are plunged into a sinister world whose glittering surface, detailed by Pye in spare but painterly detail, belies its shadowy mechanics.

The killing spree at the heart of this novel starts randomly enough. Young Martin Arkenhout, a Dutch foreign exchange student, is bumming around Florida with an American teenager named Seth Goodman. When their rented car breaks down Seth tries to flag down help, but he is struck by a passing car and left a bloody pulp by the side of the road. Martin checks to see if Seth is still breathing and then unaccountably takes a rock and strikes him in the head to finish him off. He switches watches with Seth, appropriates his credit cards and papers and takes off. The police will mistakenly identify the dead body as that of Martin Arkenhout.

Martin, meanwhile, has settled down to college life as Seth Goodman in New York City, where he becomes a habéscum of the downtown art scene. There he meets an awkward rich man named John Gaul who tells him that he has just inherited a big, pink house in the Ba-

hamas. Seth (that is, Martin) files this information away, and when Seth's parents insist on seeing him, he decides it's time to move on. He will dispose of John Gaul and appropriate his life. Gaul, he figures, is a misfit, an outsider, a man without roots or family or friends: He will not be missed.

"Arkenhout thinks he can kill, probably," Pye writes. "The boundaries weakened when he took a rock to Seth Goodman's head. Besides, it will be Seth Goodman's crime, and he will not be Seth Goodman anymore."

Seth/Martin coolly murders Gaul, moves into his house in the Bahamas and lives off his copious credit. In time, as he grows restless, eager to reinvent himself, he will murder others — always men he can reasonably impersonate, always men with "a lack of mooring to the ordinary, crushing rhythms of practical life."

"Martin has always been the winner," Pye writes, "the man who knew how to reinvent himself perpetually."

Fans with no need for some cramping contract with any passing devil. He did what other men just dream of doing, which is to change all the incidentals and take with him, life after life, only what's essential.

And then he makes a mistake. On the run from police (who are curious about an expired visa), Martin is forced to pick a new mark quickly. He selects a professor named Christopher Hart, an art historian who is about to head off to Portugal on sabbatical. This Hart, however, has his own secret past: He has stolen 15 illuminated pages from a rare 17th-century book belonging to a London museum, and the museum has appointed one of its curators, John Michael Snell Costa, to track them down. The two men are soon engaged in a dangerous game of cat and mouse, a game in which none of the usual rules of fair play apply.

It is Costa who narrates the remainder of "Taking Lives," piecing together the story of Martin Arkenhout from his own encounters with the man, from police reports and from the testimony of others who have crossed his path. Costa, it quickly becomes clear, has his own identity problems and his own reasons for wanting to run away from his life — developments that not only help Pye to advance his story line, but also help him to underscore the dialectic in this novel between roots and rootlessness, home and abroad, stasis and flux.

Certainly there are far too many coincidences between Costa's story and Arkenhout's story for the reader to continue to suspend disbelief. Not only do both men end up within miles of each other in the Portuguese countryside, but both also turn out to be involved with the same woman. Both men also spark the interest of a local police captain who seems to have had a mysterious relationship with Costa's father.

What enables the reader to overlook these jury-rigged developments — and even the novel's contrived ending — is Pye's ability to combine psychological insight with Hitchcockian suspense and vivid novelistic descriptions. Pye conjures up Nassau for the reader as a collection of houses in "the colors of coconut ice and sherberts," and a seedy Vietnamese restaurant in Soho as "an Edward Hopper café except for the paper lanterns, and the green lights in the fish tanks in the window." The sky glimpsed from an airplane strikes Costa as "a baroque, sentimental sky that ought to have fat, pink cherubs lollipopping about," while tourists in a Portuguese village look as if they were "trying to make their green guides fit the sights."

Such oddly palpable details anchor the more unbelievable aspects of the story line in a tactile foreground, and they make for an entertaining, if not entirely satisfying, read.

New York Times Service

## BRIDGE

By Alan Truscott

**O**NE of America's finest players, Edward Manfield of Philadelphia, died of a heart attack at 55, shortly after returning from the Spring National Championships in Vancouver, British Columbia.

He won one world bridge title and 11 national ones, including the Vanderbilt Teams. In 1979 he captured the Cavendish Invitational Teams with his regular partner, Kit Woolsey.

They were aided by the diagrammed deal, on which Woolsey as West opened with a weak two-bid in spades. This suggested six spades, but the modern tendency is to take this

action with a strong five-card suit.

Against three no-trump, he led the spade four, an imaginative choice to provide for the possibility that his partner held a doubleton or singleton king.

Preparing for the end position, he led a diamond to the ten. Manfield as East won with the jack and returned the suit. South won with the ace in dummy, cashed four club winners and reached the ending shown at left.

The declarer gave himself the best chance by leading the diamond two. Manfield took his three diamond winners and had to break the hearts. If he had led low, South would have played low and finessed the ten successfully. But he led the queen, and South fell into the trap.

The right play for South was the ten, going down two. Perhaps he should have reasoned that Manfield would have led low with queen-jack-six.

NORTH

♦ 10 8

♦ A 8

♦ 2

♦ —

WEST

♦ 10 8

♦ A 8

♦ 2

♦ —

EAST

♦ —

SOUTH

♦ 7 5

♦ K 10 3

♦ 8

♦ —

WEST

♦ A Q J 2

♦ J 4

♦ K 6 3

♦ —

SOUTH

♦ 7 5

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## TribTech

**'Web Phone' Makers Duck Microsoft's Embrace**By Bruno Giussani  
*New York Times Service*

ONDON — With the lid closed, the Ericsson R380, due to be released early next year, has the look and size of a standard mobile phone. But the keypad can be flipped to reveal a large display giving access to e-mail, organizer and World Wide Web functions.

So-called "Web phones" like this one have been around for a couple of years — remember the Nokia Communicator that was Val Kilmer's lifeline in "The Saint"? — but have never had broad appeal. Older models were too expensive, complicated and bulky. But the new models from companies like Nokia Corp. of Finland and LM Ericsson AB of Sweden are smaller and faster.

Just as a desktop computer needs an operating system like Windows to function, a Web phone needs its own specialized operating system, Symbian Ltd., a London-based software company, aims to dominate this market, and it has several giants of the phone and electronics industries on its side.

"In 2005, one-sixth of the world's population will have a mobile phone, and many of these will be data-enabled," said Colly Myers, Symbian's chief executive. "This will define a whole new networked economy, where the wireless information device is the consumer's 'physical portal' to a world of information and services."

The industry believes that these phones will be the first of a range of new mobile devices that in a few years time, with the help of new technologies, will make many innovative wireless services possible — including what might be called "mobile commerce."

Ranging from handheld computers to

"smart phones" of all shapes and sizes, the new devices will provide access to stock quotes, news headlines, weather reports, sports scores, bank accounts, music, pictures, e-mail — and of course the phone network.

Symbian was founded last summer to create a common software platform for wireless information devices. In a memo to employees last autumn, Bill Gates, Microsoft Corp.'s chairman, singled out Symbian, a 10-month-old company with just 250 employees, as one of the greatest competitive threats to his corporate empire.

What worries Mr. Gates is Symbian's powerful parents: the phone manufacturers Nokia, Ericsson and Motorola Inc., and the British handheld-computer maker Psion PLC.

THE THREE phone makers together control more than two-thirds of today's global cell phone market. Other manufacturers like Philips Electronics NV of the Netherlands, and network operators like Japan's NTT Mobile Communications Network Inc., or DoCoMo, have already signed up to use Symbian's software. Following a recently announced alliance with Sun Microsystems Inc., Symbian's product will also support the Java programming language.

"Our goal is to become the standard for wireless information devices," Mr. Myers said.

If he succeeds, a large portion of these devices will run on Symbian software — which is based on the Epoc operating system

first developed by Psion for its successful line of tiny computers — and not on Microsoft's Windows CE operating system.

Both Nokia and Ericsson had been in talks with Microsoft, but then took an offer made by David Potter, the chairman of Psion — arguably because Psion's software is better suited for the mobile device environment, but also to avoid letting Microsoft get a stranglehold on the wireless data industry in the way it has a grip on PC manufacturers. Motorola joined the venture four months later.

Of course, Mr. Gates and other competitors have not been sitting by watching. "There are at least three others today that are trying to line up partners and capture a piece of the business," said Justine Heys, an analyst with Yankee Group Europe in London.

Microsoft has struck deals with British Telecommunications PLC and the wireless technology company Qualcomm Inc., while 3Com Corp., the maker of the wildly successful Palm Pilot handheld computer, has teamed up with Alcatel SA of France.

"Symbian has clearly the strongest alliance to address this market," Mr. Heys said.

"Epoc is very robust, uses little memory space, and its battery consumption is limited. It was designed for small devices, and Windows was not."

Some critics argue that Windows CE, a tiny version of the standard Windows operating system, is too slow to handle functions in which voices are processed in digital form, a claim the company rejects.

Amid all this competitive agitation, Juha Christensen, Symbian's executive vice president, remains calm. "The market doesn't exist yet" for wireless data services, he said, because only a small percentage of cell phone owners have signed up for them. But Mr. Christensen is certain that the demand will build.

"We're betting on a self-fulfilling prophecy: that if everyone in the value chain believes it will happen, well, it will happen," he said.

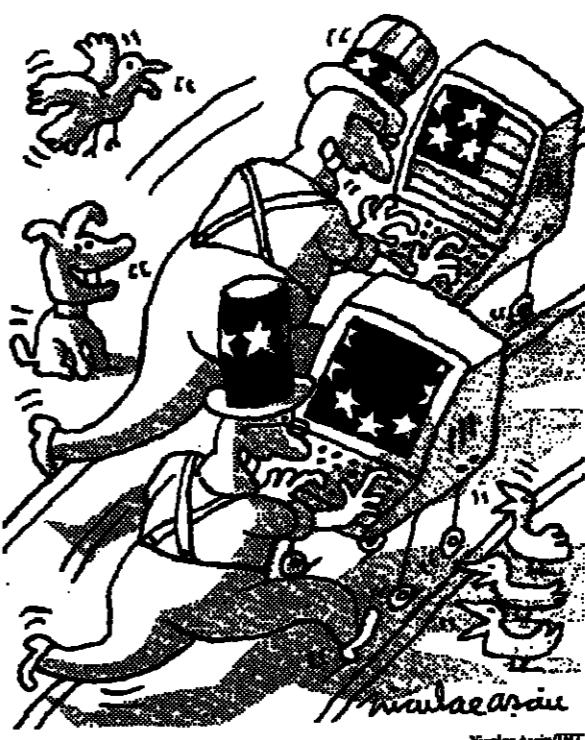
**A**NALYSTS SAY that Symbian, which has been concentrating on working with the manufacturers of the mobile devices, needs to start doing more work with network operators and content providers, which are reluctant to provide information services for the devices until there is a sizable audience of potential users.

So far the use of mobile data has been slow to take off, mainly because available data speeds have been low. A speed of 9,600 bits per second, or one-fourth of the average fixed-line modem speed, is the current maximum transfer speed with the widely used GSM system. Mr. Myers said that new technology will help, dramatically increasing the available bandwidth, "but don't underestimate what you can do with 9,600 bits per second," he said.

"When people think bandwidth, they automatically think of the PC screen, which is a mistake," he said. "Phones work differently, and today's speed already gives users great capability for the applications they use most: e-mail, Internet and database access, and faxes."

"No doubt," he said, "that there is tremendous value now to get out of data-enabled cell phones."

## ALT / Commentary

**Europe Is Getting With the Program****High-Tech Savvy Is on the Rise**By Victoria Shannon  
*International Herald Tribune*

**P**ARIS — Is Europe about to close the gap with the United States in information technology? Measured by computer use in company offices and government agencies, Internet connections in homes, and electronic commerce among and between them all, Europe has long lagged the info-tech boom across the Atlantic.

Reasons abound to argue that the gap will remain — the disparity has been wide, after all — but just lately I've felt a shift in the wind that portends a big change ahead.

The evidence is largely anecdotal and can easily be countered with any of the usual citations of Europe playing catch-up: a shortage of tech-savvy workers, the high expense of being on-line, a dearth of venture capital and a basic "bad attitude" about taking risks, for example.

And yet ... something is afoot.

The phrase "a year ago" has become key. People are using that time frame to illustrate their perception of the change.

A year ago, cable modems were nonexistent in France; now, you can get broadband Internet access in Paris. A year ago, a journalist reported at a recent technology roundtable sponsored by Microsoft Corp., few of her European friends had an e-mail address. Now, many do.

A year ago, on-line banking was a distant reality and state-owned phone companies had just opened up to competition. Now, some European banks are offering free Internet access in return for on-line business, and phone subscribers in Germany and elsewhere can pick and choose their carriers.

International Data Corp., the technology research company, even headlined one study in February with the breathless exclamation that, "The Internet Fully Arrives in Western Europe."

Well, not so fast. As in the early Web years in the United States, Internet users in Europe today are in a narrow demographic, IDC says: mostly male, well-educated, high-income, accessing the Net from home. That's not quite a "full" arrival.

**S**TILL, PERSONAL computer sales in Western Europe rose more than 21 percent in 1998 from 1997, and by year's end the region had become the fastest-growing worldwide — a rate, however, that is not expected to be matched this year.

It may be that a "leapfrog" effect has finally taken hold: Europe has been able to bypass the experimental, if-it-doesn't-work-take-it-down approach of Web wizards in the United States; concentrate on models that succeed; borrow compelling concepts and avoid costly mistakes.

Voilà! European businesses and consumers can now turn to information technology that will actually help them.

When asked to rate Europe's ability to further close the information technology divide with the United States by 2005, with 1 being least likely and 10 most likely, the president of Microsoft Europe gave it a 6.5 at the forum last week.

"I believe that we have no other choice than making it happen," said Michel Lacombe, who heads the Paris-based Europe, Middle East and Africa division of the world's biggest software company. "It's a must."

He added: "I think that we will see new approaches coming to market that will make it easy for small and medium businesses to embrace technology. I think that the prices will continue to go down, therefore driving better penetration of those technologies."

Others echoed his sentiment.

"A couple of years ago, I was hearing much more doom and gloom, and the gap was much, much bigger," said Steve Shipside, a British technology commentator and writer.

"I'm increasingly getting the feeling that the message is starting to get through," to CEOs, he said. "If they haven't gotten it yet, at least now they're starting to feel guilty about not knowing about it."

The hand-wringing among technologists goes on: about cross-border handicaps, about copyright policy, about tax issues.

So the gap is still here, no doubt about it. But IDC also says that while on-line business in Western Europe trailed the United States \$6 billion to \$31 billion in 1998, in four years that difference will narrow enormously to \$223 billion in Western Europe and \$291 billion in the United States.

I have my own personal evidence of the shifting winds. Eighteen months ago, when I asked France Telecom for an ISDN line in my apartment, I was met with blank stares. When I asked for a second phone line, and inquired about the possibility of a third, the France Telecom assistant said that I surely wanted to talk to her colleague, the small-business specialist.

The notion of a very-wired household was inconceivable then.

But two weeks ago, I was again in the phone company's offices, this time to cancel my second phone line because I now get my home Internet connection via a cable modem.

This time, the France Telecom assistant offered me a send data and faxes to my cell phone, and, best yet, was completely nonchalant about my requests.

The Internet may not have "fully arrived," but it's getting awfully close.

Victoria Shannon edits TribTech and can be e-mailed at [tribtech@iht.com](mailto:tribtech@iht.com).

**Mouse in Hand, Millions Name Their Price**By Amy Harmon and Leslie Kaufman  
*New York Times Service*

**N**EW YORK — There was no question that Bill Rue wanted the toy car, a childhood object that set off memories of 1969, when the Mets won the World Series and his parents bought their first color television. But it wasn't until he found himself bidding against an anonymous foe in an Internet auction one evening that he knew he must have it.

Mr. Rue, a real estate agent in New York, has no regrets about paying \$101 for a used toy that opened at \$9. And he is hardly alone in his embrace of the on-line auction. It is a phenomenon that in a matter of months has captivated bargain hunters and spawned a market for nostalgia. Millions of Web surfers are sweating silently at their computers, bidding electronically on things they have never seen, tendered by people they have never met.

While retailers continue to spend furiously to draw more customers on line, the Internet is teeming with buyers and sellers making their own markets. Items range from a 50-gallon fish tank (four goldfish included) to painted plaster hula girls to the 1987 Mercedes 300 turbo diesel that Bill Steinhour of northern Virginia landed with a \$5,800 bid.

Economists say the blossoming of on-line bidding is no surprise. Auctions are theoretically a very efficient form of commerce, the perfect nexus of the supply-and-demand curves. But they have traditionally been expensive to hold and limited in reach. The Internet solves both of those problems. Bidders are also relieved of the social

awkwardness and time-consuming nature of haggling face to face.

"You get the fun of outbidding someone; you get something glorious in the mail," said Robert Peila, 37, a writer in Phoenix, Arizona, who has acquired several Partridge Family albums via on-line auction in recent weeks. "It's become my favorite form of procrastination."

If buyers become hooked on cyberspace bargaining, the implications for the retail economy could be as wide reaching as the introduction of fixed pricing enabled by standardized production a century ago.

While on-line auction sales were a relatively small \$1.4 billion last year, some analysts see a future where everything is a negotiation, from heating oil to the chopped meat at the Internet grocery store.

"There is a building mind-set of, 'Hey, I can bid for things,'" said Kate Deltagen, a senior analyst at Forrester Research. "All this has the net effect that people start thinking that they can name their price."

In a report released last week, Forrester predicted that business-to-consumer interactions would account for 66 percent of a \$19 billion on-line auction market by 2003. Already, several sites such as [OnSale.com](http://OnSale.com) and [FirstAuction.com](http://FirstAuction.com) have created a hybrid form of auction retailer. They buy excess merchandise cheaply, particularly computer equipment, and resell it to the highest bidder. Tickets for air travel are also widely up for bid through auction-like vendors such as [Priceline.com](http://Priceline.com).

But for now, most Web transactions are person-to-person through third-party auction houses. And the Web's central bazaar is a site maintained by eBay Inc., a San Jose, California, venture started in 1995, which



Bill Steinhour landed his 1987 Mercedes 300 with a \$5,800 bid.

whose audience has recently surged to 6.5 million visitors a month.

**T**HE COMPANY keeps no inventory and takes no responsibility for authenticity of the wares being showcased on its screens. It does take a variable percentage of each final bid, making it one of the few Internet ventures to be profitable.

The hands-off formula of eBay has raised concerns about fraud.

There have been numerous instances where genuinely naive sellers have misrepresented their wares. Instances of outright theft, where buyers send off their checks and never receive their booty, although far

rarer, have also occurred. While eBay insists that 99.9 percent of the transactions on its site go off without a complaint, the U.S. government is investigating individual allegations of fraud. And eBay reached a settlement last month with the New York City Department of Consumer Affairs in which it agreed to take steps to weed out fraudulent sellers.

Still, consumers are voting with their modems, and competitors are trying to cut in. Last month, the online bookseller Amazon.com Inc. opened its own auction house. Sotheby's and Christie's have said they will soon begin to peddle by modem. And niche sites such as [gunbroker.com](http://gunbroker.com), [planet bike.com](http://planet bike.com) and [mobilia.com](http://mobilia.com), for car

buffs, are proliferating. A considerable part of the on-line auction crowd is made up of longtime collectors who buy and sell off-line as well. But the Web also seems to be igniting the collecting impulse.

For example, Stephanie Canode, 23, a nurse in Kenton, Ohio, recently began collecting My Little Ponies, which she remembers fondly from her childhood. After showing off her on-line finds, she must now contend for computer time with her father, who scours the auction boards for Zippo lighters, her mother, whose passion is Beanie Babies, and her brother, who recently went to a Nascar race with tickets he bought on eBay.com.



At the Can Do health club in Wayne, New Jersey, members can surf the Internet while they exercise.

music standards is getting crowded. Microsoft Corp. has unveiled a system for playing and distributing songs over the Internet, while International Business Machines Corp. said it would incorporate technology from RealNetworks Inc. into a music distribution system.

The companies are competing with AT&T Corp., Liquid Audio Inc. and others to offer an alternative to a popular technology called MP3, which makes it easy to distribute compact disc-quality music over the Internet without paying royalties.

The U.S. government has been trying to convince the European Union for more than a year that its proposed framework for self-regulation and self-enforcement of data privacy practices are effective enough to meet a stringent new European Union privacy law.

**R**ACE TO BEAT ON-LINE MUSIC PIRATES: The race to set on-line

TECHNOLOGY INDEX			
Technology stock indexes around the world:			
North America	Tuesday close	Pct. change previous week	Pct. change, year to date
Pacific Exchange Tech	509.03	+13.32	+13.32
S&P Tech Composite	1,335.11	+14.29	+14.29
Europe			
Morgan Stanley Eurotec	659.71	+8.06	+8.06
Asia			
Topix Electric	1,952.80	+26.60	+26.60
Source: Morgan Stanley, Bloomberg News			

For technology articles from the past week, see TribTech on the IHT's World Wide Web site at <http://www.iht.com>. Articles include:

- Olivetti Profit Rises as Bid Wins Support, April 8
- Internet Blends Investors, April 9
- Telecom Italia Set to Reinforce Its Defenses, April 9
- Big Future Seen for Bargain 'Virtual Ads', April 9
- Melissa: Catchy, but Graffiti Art, April 10-11
- China Internet Firms Link Up, April 10-11
- Compaq Cuts Prices in Japan, April 12
- Aviation Computer Passes Y2K Test, April 12

To reach TribTech editors or to comment on IHT tech coverage, send e

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the Program

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there were  
no dot?

No dot for .com?

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## Timor Leader Accuses Army Of Torpedoing Peace Efforts

The Associated Press

JAKARTA — The imprisoned East Timorese rebel leader Xanana Gusmao urged his followers again Wednesday to defend themselves against attacks by pro-Indonesian militiamen and accused the Indonesian military of trying to sabotage peace efforts.

In a statement, Mr. Gusmao ignored calls by the Indonesian government to retract his recent call for an insurrection in the former Portuguese colony.

The government has said that Mr. Gusmao, who is under house arrest in Jakarta to allow him greater involvement in peace talks, might be returned to prison because of the remarks.

Mr. Gusmao had urged separatist guerrillas to step up attacks because of escalating violence between supporters and opponents of independence in East Timor. Last week, pro-Indonesian militiamen killed villagers at a church compound in the town of Liquica.

Religious leaders said at least 25 people died in one of the worst attacks in East Timor in years.

"I am obliged to continue to ask that the defenseless people of East Timor refuse to allow themselves to be slaughtered like animals," Mr. Gusmao said.

He said the Liquica massacre was carried out to disrupt UN-sponsored talks between Indonesia and Portugal, which the United Nations still considers East Timor's administering power.

President B.J. Habibie of Indonesia has said Jakarta will allow East Timor independence if its people reject an autonomy offer in a UN-supervised ballot in July, but there are concerns that unrest might delay the vote.

In East Timor on Wednesday, a mob of pro-Indonesian activists attacked separatist activists and damaged houses, the police said.

Colonel Muafiz Sahudji, the deputy police chief in the territory, said about 250 people took part in the attack in the town of Maliana, but there were no immediate reports of casualties.

Mr. Gusmao said the Indonesian military, which has provided training to some militias, was behind much of the recent violence.

"I know that it will keep on supporting the militias as part of the inhumane plan devised by the Indonesian generals to destroy the East Timorese people," he said.

Military commanders have denied accusations of involvement in the unrest and have said that pro-independence activists have initiated many attacks.

■ **Habibie Reaffirms June Voting**

President B.J. Habibie of Indonesia said Wednesday that parliamentary elections will go ahead as scheduled on June 7 despite doubts about the nation's preparedness, The Associated Press reported.

Mr. Habibie, who took office after President Suharto quit amid riots and protests last year, said he was also willing to leave office if the Indonesian people wanted him to do so, but only through constitutional means.

In an interview published Wednesday by the Japanese newspaper Yomiuri Shimbun, Mr. Suharto suggested that the ballot might have to be postponed.

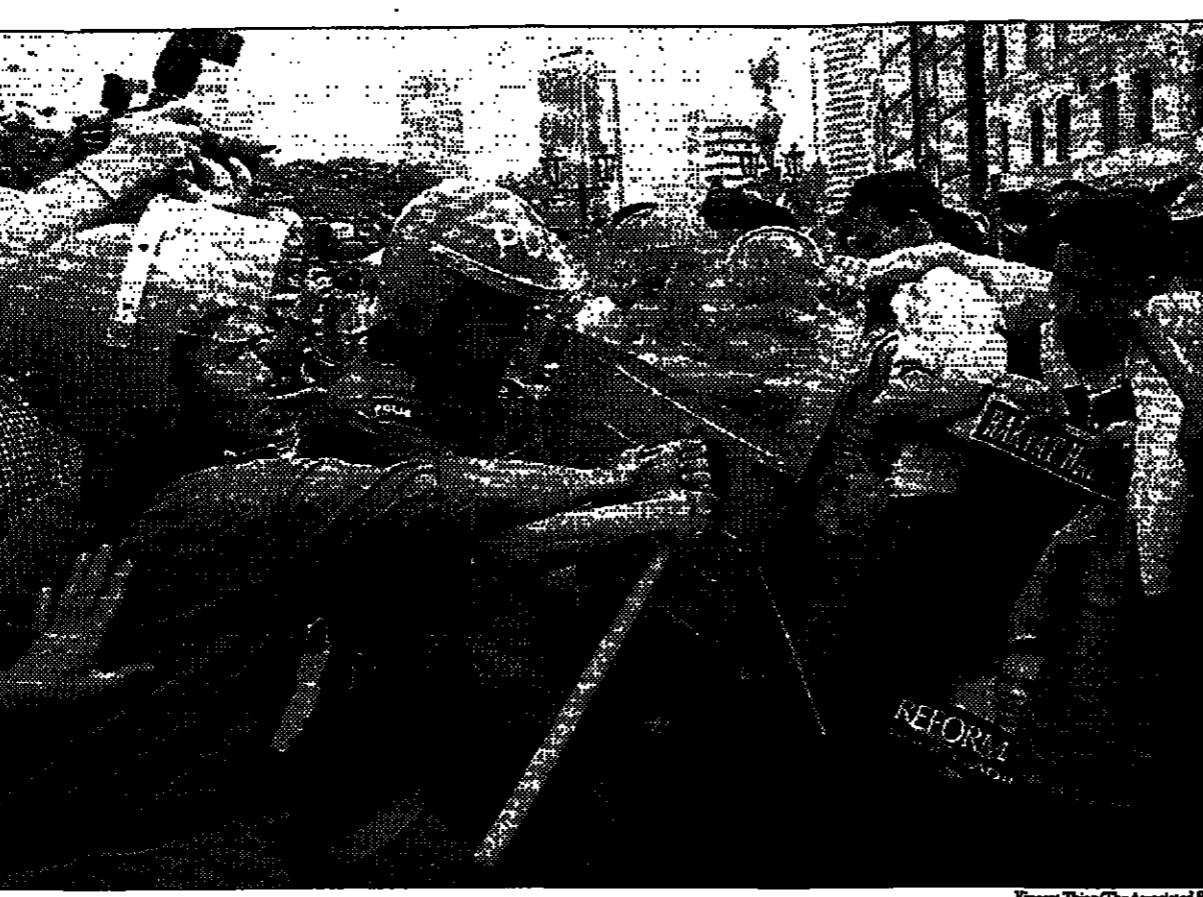
Hundreds of students protested near the Parliament building Tuesday, demanding that the election be called off. Unhappy with the scope and pace of democratic reform, they called on Mr. Habibie to quit and for a transitional government to enact sweeping political changes.

Speaking to Southeast Asian newspaper editors, Mr. Habibie said he expected the election to be fair and democratic.

He said that international electoral monitors had been invited to Indonesia and that their safety would be guaranteed.

Mr. Habibie did not directly address Mr. Suharto's comments, but said, "Do you want a fair election or an election full of manipulation?"

"I don't want any injustice," he said, "because we are being watched by the world."



Vincent Thian/The Associated Press

## ANWAR: After Sentencing, Riots Break Out in Kuala Lumpur

Continued from Page 1

The judgment against Mr. Anwar provoked anger overseas as well, where the trial has become a referendum on political freedom in Malaysia. Amnesty International condemned the verdict as a pretext to remove Mr. Anwar from public life, while some foreign leaders — notably President Joseph Estrada of the Philippines — expressed concern about the Malaysian judicial system. (Page 10)

Mr. Anwar himself reacted calmly to the verdict, gesturing to his lawyers and their family members not to lose their composure. But he repeated his assertion that he was the target of a political conspiracy engineered by his former mentor, Mr. Mahathir.

"I've been sentenced with a judgment that stinks to high heaven," Mr. Anwar said from his dock in the sparse courtroom here.

His troubles began in 1997 when anonymous allegations about illicit sexual and homosexual activities began circulating in the Malaysian press. At first, Mr. Mahathir dismissed the reports and told Mr. Anwar to ignore them. Later, the Malaysian police began to investigate the reports.

While Mr. Anwar's reputation was under fire, he also began clashing with Mr. Mahathir about how to respond to the Asian financial crisis. Mr. Anwar, who was also finance minister, favored keeping the markets open and hewing to the International Monetary Fund's remedy for curing Malaysia's economy.

Mr. Mahathir, notorious for blaming the financier George Soros and other foreign currency traders for Asia's economic woes, wanted to shield his coun-

try by erecting barriers to foreign investment and currency exchange.

Last Sept. 1, the prime minister imposed sweeping controls on Malaysia's markets and, the next day, he dismissed Mr. Anwar. Three weeks later, after he led a rally of 40,000 against the government, Mr. Anwar was arrested on charges of having had homosexual affairs and trying to quash a police investigation of them.

On Sept. 29, Mr. Anwar appeared at his arraignment with a black eye and bruised face, prompting foreign as well as domestic criticism. In a speech in Kuala Lumpur in November, the U.S. vice president, Al Gore, publicly rebuked Malaysia for suppressing political freedoms.

A former police chief has admitted that he beat Mr. Anwar after his arrest. The trial itself was marked by a mixture of lurid evidence and judicial reversals. Early in the proceedings, prosecutors paraded a mistress said to contain semen stains from Mr. Anwar through the court. But later, after several of the men who had accused Mr. Anwar of sodomizing them recanted their confessions, Judge Paul amended the charges so that the government had to prove only that Mr. Anwar had hindered a police investigation.

He acknowledged that while he was deputy prime minister he called police officers to his residence to express concern about the charges made against him. But he denied that he forced anyone to recant.

The political movement that Mr. Anwar was building before his arrest has lost much of its momentum during the trial. And with its leader barred from

Parliament until 2010 — a person given a jail sentence of more than a year is ineligible to run for five years after his release — it is unclear whether the movement will regain traction.

Mr. Anwar's wife, Azizah Ismail, recently formed a political party to challenge Mr. Mahathir's governing coalition.

Speaking after the verdict Wednesday, Mrs. Azizah said, "We still maintain Anwar is innocent and is the victim of a political conspiracy." Her voice cracking briefly, she pledged to carry on her husband's campaign.

Opponents of the government said the verdict would galvanize Malaysians who followed the trial with mounting, if silent, disapproval. The anti-government groups are focusing on unseating Mr. Mahathir's party in parliamentary elections, which must be held by June 2000.

"There's been a tremendous erosion of support in the political community, and this decision will further erode that support," said Chandra Muzaffar, the vice president of Mrs. Azizah's National Justice Party.

But other analysts said that Malaysia's faltering economy had fanned the unhappiness of people toward the government. And with signs that Malaysia is recovering from its recession, it is doubtful that a large number — let alone a majority — of people here will continue to call for Mr. Mahathir's ouster. He has been prime minister for 18 years.

Mr. Mahathir, 73, who is recovering from a lung infection, has not commented on the verdict. But his new deputy, Abdullah Ahmad Badawi, called on people to accept the judgment and not riot.

## Keep Up Fight, Estrada Urges Anwar

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

KUALA LUMPUR — The president of the Philippines joined human rights groups on Wednesday in denouncing the conviction of Malaysia's former deputy prime minister and his sentence of six years in prison.

President Joseph Estrada called Anwar Ibrahim's conviction on four corruption charges "very unfortunate" and said he hoped that Mr. Anwar might be cleared on appeal.

"My message is keep on fighting," Mr. Estrada said. "If he's not really guilty, the truth will come out in the end. The truth will free him."

Mr. Estrada was the first Asian politician to comment on the verdict and sentence, which were criticized by human rights groups.

He said that he was writing to Mr. Anwar's wife to express his sympathy.

The Lawyers Committee for Human Rights, which like many similar groups watched Mr. Anwar's seven-month trial closely, said that it was not surprised by the verdict.

"All indications are that the charges were brought as part of a politically motivated campaign against Mr. An-

war," the Lawyers Committee said in a statement.

Mark Daly, a lawyer who attended part of the trial on behalf of Amnesty International, said, "Anyone daring to dissent or express themselves contrary to the government line is a target of the government apparatus."

Mr. Daly said that he had been deeply troubled by reported comments by President Mahathir bin Mohamad during the trial that the president believed his former protégé to be guilty.

John Malott, the U.S. ambassador to Malaysia until his retirement last year, also criticized the verdict. "The decision was made to get him, and he's been got," Mr. Malott said. "It's outrageous."

Japan, meanwhile, said it had no plans to change its aid policy toward Malaysia following Mr. Anwar's conviction.

Japanese Foreign Ministry officials declined to comment on the sentencing of Mr. Anwar.

Last October, Japan announced a \$30 billion Asian aid package, of which Malaysia is a recipient, with Indonesia, South Korea, the Philippines and Thailand.

## BRIEFLY

### Chinese Police Warn Protester Tiananmen Is Still Off-Limits

BEIJING — The only senior Communist Party official imprisoned in the crackdown on the demonstrations around Tiananmen Square said Wednesday that the Chinese police had warned him against causing trouble during the protest movement's 10th anniversary.

Four police officials visited Bao Tong on Friday and told him that a letter he wrote last month, which described the suppression as a mistake, had endangered state security. He said they also told him, "I should not let reporters interview me."

The warning is the latest act of intimidation the government has used to prevent public debate or commemoration of the demonstrations that began 10 years ago Thursday.

First Lieutenant Kim Hoon, 26, was found shot in the head in February 1998 in a bunker at the truce village of Panmunjom, inside the demilitarized zone separating South Korea from communist North Korea.

An initial probe concluded that he shot himself with a pistol. But Lieutenant Kim's family, some local news media

and a parliamentary committee said he might have been killed by a subordinate trying to cover up illegal contacts with North Korean guards. The ministry reopened the investigation in December with private forensic doctors and lawyers. (AP)

### Cambodia Has Quiet New Year

PHNOM PENH — Prime Minister Hun Sen of Cambodia on Wednesday hailed the country's first peaceful new year in decades and said his government's greatest achievement was to eliminate the Khmer Rouge guerrilla group.

"This is the first time in Cambodian history that all of our land is under the control of the one state," Mr. Hun Sen said in a new year message broadcast on government television. He said his new coalition government will focus on development.

Wednesday was the first day of the traditional Cambodian new year and the beginning of a three-day national holiday. (Reuters)

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The fire at the Ozone Disco Pub in Quezon City, part of metropolitan Manila, was one of the world's worst such tragedies. Many of the victims were students celebrating the end of the school year.

The prosecution failed to prove that city officials had given "unwarranted benefit" to the owners of the disco, Judge Apolonia Bruselas Jr. of the regional court ruled. (AP)

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## WTO Delays Picking Chief With No Sign Of an Accord

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

GENEVA — With time running out and no sign of consensus, the World Trade Organization on Wednesday again delayed a decision on choosing a new director-general, probably until the day the present one leaves.

In its last formal meeting before the departure of Renato Ruggiero, the 134-nation body missed the latest in a string of deadlines. Members are expected to meet again April 30 — Mr. Ruggiero's last day in office.

"We cannot afford to miss the inevitable deadline," said Ali Meltouhi, the council chairman, while admitting that the WTO had not yet reached a consensus.

The nomination battle and the prospect of a leaderless WTO come as the trade organization seeks to resolve disputes between the United States and the European Union over issues such as bananas and hormone-treated beef. The next director-general also will have to lead the organization through years of complex negotiations to free up trade in sectors from farm products to services.

The stalemate also coincides with a strong push by China to negotiate its entry into the organization through intensified talks with the United States and the European Union and multilateral discussions that will soon start here.

It is a year since Mr. Ruggiero announced his intention to leave at the end of April, but the organization has been deadlocked over the choice of a successor.

The two remaining candidates — Thailand's deputy prime minister, Supachai Panitchpakdi, and a former New Zealand prime minister, Mike Moore — each have the support of a large number of the members. Although Mr. Supachai is believed to be slightly ahead, Mr. Moore is supported by the United States and other important delegations.

The United States and Latin American countries are among Mr. Moore's strongest supporters, while Mr. Supachai is backed almost unanimously in Asia. European countries are divided between the two men.

The WTO always makes its decisions by consensus, which has been a long struggle to find a common choice from the original four candidates. The organization originally planned to make a decision by the end of 1998 but found it was deadlocked.

All the members have said they will not block either candidate, but they are entrenched in their views, and a decision does not seem near.

Some countries have called for a vote if no agreement can be reached by the end of April.

"Our situation is essentially the same as it has been for the past three weeks," the WTO spokesman, Keith Rockwell, said during a meeting in Geneva to discuss the deadlocked selection process.

A general consensus around either candidate has proved elusive."

Mr. Ruggiero said he will not stay any longer than the end of the month.

If no director-general has been appointed by then, one of the three existing deputies — who are also scheduled to leave at the same time — might be asked to stand in, or the WTO may continue without a chief.

In a letter to the members late last week, Mr. Ruggiero said a decision had to be made by the end of April.

"No interim solution or postponement can be justified, especially taking into account the outstanding qualities of the candidates," Mr. Ruggiero said.

(AP, Bloomberg)

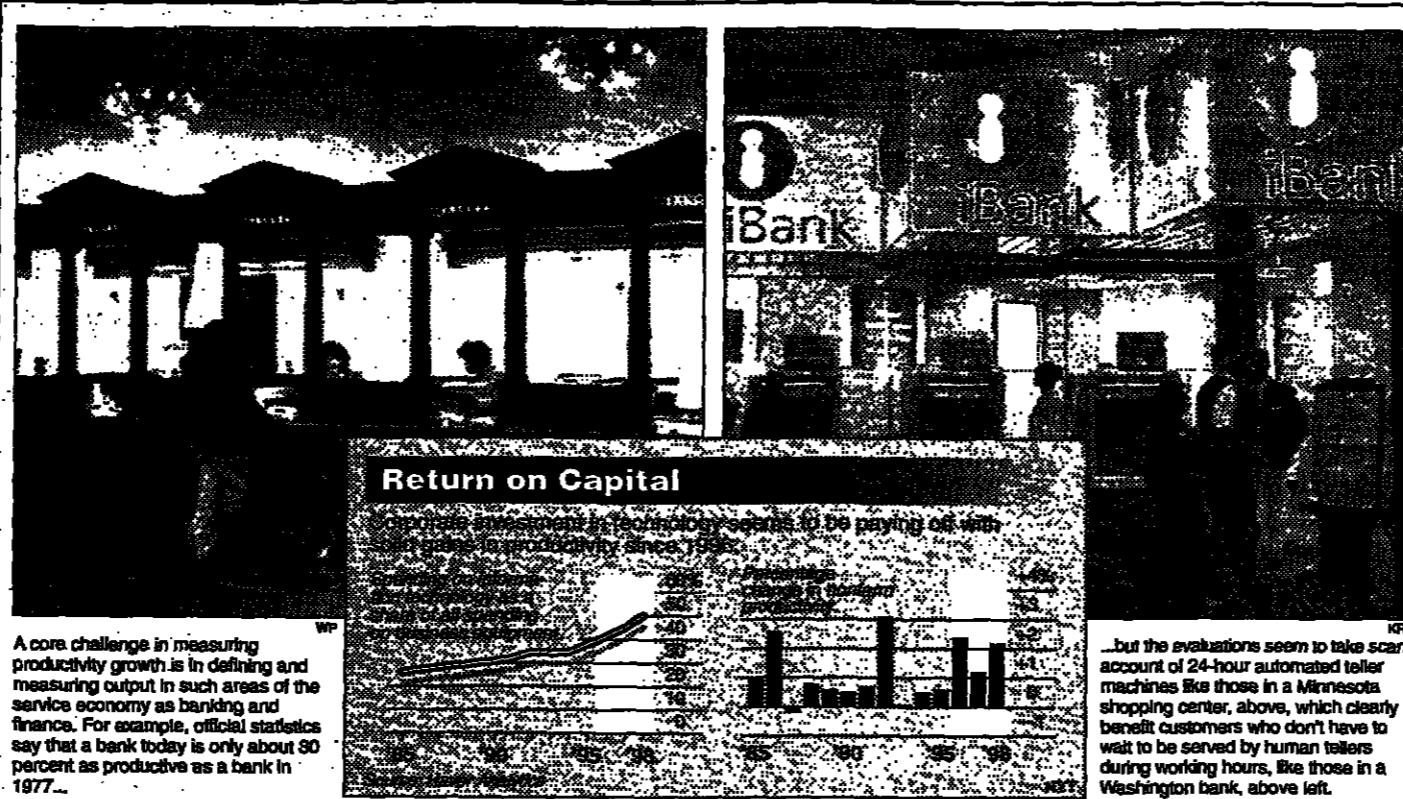
YOSHIFUMI TSUJI, the company chairman, was expected to resign to take responsibility for the loss. The Yomiuri Shimbun also said.

A Nissan representative was quoted as telling Dow Jones NewsWire that the report was speculative. She said the company was putting together its results for the year and that no final numbers were available.

TOKYO — Nissan Motor Co. had a net loss of more than 30 billion yen (\$248 million), three times the automaker's latest estimate, in the year that ended March 31, a newspaper reported Wednesday.

Yoshifumi Tsuji, the company chairman, was expected to resign to take responsibility for the loss. The Yomiuri Shimbun also said.

A Nissan representative was quoted as telling Dow Jones NewsWire that the report was speculative. She said the company was putting together its results



## At Last, Economists See a High-Tech Payoff

Long Skeptical, Many Now Say the Computer Age Is Bringing Productivity Gains

By Steve Lohr  
New York Times Service

**NEW YORK** — In a nation of technophiles, where Internet millionaires are minted daily, it seems heresy to question the economic payoff from information technology.

But for more than a decade, most leading American economists have been heretics. They have not been much impressed by the high-tech dogma — embraced by corporate executives, business school professors and Wall Street alike — that regards the transformation of the economy through the magic of information technology as a self-evident truth.

"You can see the Computer Age everywhere but in the productivity statistics," Robert Solow, a Nobel prizewinner from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology wrote a few years ago.

But today, even renowned skeptics on the subject of technology's contribution to the economy, such as Mr. Solow, are having second thoughts. After finally advancing 1 percent annually for years, productivity growth began to pick up in 1996, capped by a

surge in the second half of last year, after eight years of economic expansion. That has drawn attention because past upward swings in productivity typically occurred early in a recovery as economic activity rebounded. Once companies increased hiring, it slowed again.

But something seems fundamentally different this time, something apparently having

### ECONOMIC SCENE

a lot to do with the increased speed and efficiency that the Internet and other pervasive information-technology advances are bringing to the mundane day-to-day tasks of millions of businesses.

The question posed by economists is whether the higher productivity growth — averaging about 2 percent in the past three years, roughly double the pace from 1973 to 1995 — is confirmation that steadily rising investment in computers and communications is finally paying off.

The evidence is starting to point in that direction. "My beliefs are shifting on this subject," Mr. Solow said. "I am still far from

certain. But the story always was that it took a long time for people to use information technology and truly become more efficient. That story sounds a lot more convincing today than it did a year or two ago."

Another pillar in the pessimist camp was Daniel Sichel, an economist at the Federal Reserve Board. In research done with another Fed economist, Stephen Oliner, in 1994 and on his own in 1997, Mr. Sichel found that computers contributed little to productivity growth. But recently, he ran similar calculations for the past few years and came to a different conclusion.

In a paper just published in the quarterly *Business Economics*, Mr. Sichel wrote that his new work pointed to "a striking step up in the contribution of computers to output growth." Improved productivity performance in the United States, the paper says, is "raising the possibility that businesses are finally reaping the benefits of information technology."

The impact of information technology on the economy is more than an academic debate.

See PRODUCTIVITY, Page 12

## Daimler Faces EU Fine Over Bargain-Hunting

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

**BRUSSELS** — The European Commission said Wednesday that DaimlerChrysler AG faced a fine after finding that the automaker had refused to sell cars to customers who crossed European borders seeking lower prices.

DaimlerChrysler has denied breaking European Union antitrust rules and said it was cooperating with an investigation into the sales practices of Mercedes-Benz dealers in several European countries.

Hans Glaz, DaimlerChrysler's EU representative, said he did not think the commission could prove DaimlerChrysler had a consistent policy of denying cars to foreign buyers. "We never had such a corporate strategy," he said.

A two-year inquiry by the European Union's executive agency found evidence that DaimlerChrysler dealers in Spain, Belgium, the Netherlands and Germany had broken EU antitrust rules by refusing to sell to foreigners between 1985 and 1996, Stefan Rating, an EU spokesman, said.

"We have evidence of circulars sent

to dealers encouraging them not to sell to foreigners," Mr. Rating said, adding that the commission opened a legal proceeding this month against DaimlerChrysler by sending the company a formal list of its complaints.

DaimlerChrysler has two months to respond to the commission's so-called statement of objections, Mr. Rating said. It will also have a chance to present its case at a hearing before the commission makes a final decision, expected within six months.

If found guilty, DaimlerChrysler could face fines of as much as 10 percent of its worldwide revenue in the year preceding the decision. The company posted sales of 132 billion euros (\$142 billion) in 1998.

Car companies in Europe regularly price the same cars differently in various countries to conform to local conditions, prompting bargain-hunters to cross borders. That practice is legal under EU rules but frowned upon by the automakers because it ends up costing them money.

(AP, Bloomberg)

## After Big Loss, a New Chief for Nissan?

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

**TOKYO** — Nissan Motor Co. had a net loss of more than 30 billion yen (\$248 million), three times the automaker's latest estimate, in the year that ended March 31, a newspaper reported Wednesday.

Yoshifumi Tsuji, the company chairman, was expected to resign to take responsibility for the loss. The Yomiuri Shimbun also said.

A Nissan representative was quoted as telling Dow Jones NewsWire that the report was speculative. She said the company was putting together its results

for the year and that no final numbers were available.

The losses resulted from sluggish domestic sales that eroded operating profit, along with one-time losses from Nissan's securities portfolio and aid extended to affiliated dealerships, the paper reported.

Nissan's parent company also probably lost much more money than it had expected to during the year, the paper said. In November, Nissan projected a net loss of 10 billion yen for the year.

The newspaper also reported that Nissan may either slash its dividend payments or forgo them entirely.

(AP, Bloomberg)

### CURRENCY RATES

Gross Rates		Other Dollar-Values							
		Carry	Per S	Carry	Per S	Carry	Per S	Carry	Per S
London (d)	1.5177	—	2.4009	19.207	2.4158	11.194	48.068	13.3655	—
New York (d)	—	1.61364	1.6207	11.633	1.6194	6.8845	30.02	8.2774	—
Tokyo	119.50	193.11	80.13	17.33	14.45	—	—	—	—
Tokyo	1.4925	2.0087	1.0063	1.2507	—	0.2169	0.4977	0.1608	—
Zurich	1.4954	2.3994	—	1.2509	0.9955	21.5452	0.4945	0.1797	—
One euro	1.0287	0.6657	1.6032	12.555	1.6103	7.4331	32.440	9.282	—
One SDR	1.3571	0.841	2.0193	16.3797	2.0222	9.3291	40.009	11.2534	—
Interest rates and exchange commissions. To buy one pound, add 1.5 percent; to buy one euro, add 1.5 percent. For one pound, add 1.5 percent; for one euro, add 1.5 percent.									
Source: Bank of Tokyo-Mitsubishi (Tokyo); Royal Bank of Canada (Toronto); Banque de France (Paris); IMF (Washington); other data from Reuters.									
Euro Values									
Frost rates of the ECU member currencies, for one euro.									
British pound 12.7692 Irish punt 10.3299 Italian lira 5.94575 French franc 1.55957 German mark 1.55953 Spanish peseta 1.55953									
Swiss franc 1.55953									
Interest rates and exchange commissions. To buy one pound, add 1.5 percent; to buy one euro, add 1.5 percent.									
Source: Bank of Tokyo-Mitsubishi (Tokyo); Royal Bank of Canada (Toronto); Banque de France (Paris); IMF (Washington); other data from Reuters.									

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## EUROPE

**Kvaerner Swept Up in European Revolution**

By Edmund L. Andrews  
New York Times Service

**FRANKFURT** — Kvaerner ASA's announcement that it will sell all its shipyards and other unprofitable businesses is the latest example of a reorganization revolution in European corporate culture.

For years, many of Europe's biggest industrial companies snubbed shareholders by pursuing murky strategies and producing mediocre profits. Now they are slashing costs and getting rid of businesses that do not measure up.

In November, Siemens AG of Germany unveiled plans to spur profit by selling off businesses with sales of \$10 billion. Alcatel SA, the French manufacturer of telecommunications equipment, announced plans last month to eliminate 12,000 jobs by the end of 2000. ABB Asea Brown Boveri AG, the Swiss

Swedish engineering firm, eliminated more than 12,000 jobs last year.

But the shakeup announced Tuesday at Kvaerner is one of the most drastic.

If carried out in full, the company would abandon a business that had also been a bedrock of Norwegian industry. It would shrink itself to about two-thirds of its current size, shedding 25,000 of its 80,000 workers. The moves are likely to lead to job cuts at shipyards around Europe and possibly in the United States as well.

Kvaerner, which builds products including offshore oil rigs and cruise ships, had been planning to build ships at the old Philadelphia Naval Shipyard and employ about 1,000 people there.

Those plans could change abruptly, depending on what the shipbuilder's new owners decide to do. Kvaerner executives said they had

not decided whether to simply sell the shipyards, spin the business off as a separate entity to shareholders or retreat more gradually by putting them into a joint venture with some other provider.

Whichever course prevails, the changes will be drastic. Kjell Almskog, who took over as chief executive in December, said the company had set aside 4 billion kroner (\$514.9 million) to cover reorganization costs.

Besides selling the shipyards, which employ about 10,000 workers, the company plans to sell businesses with 11,500 workers in areas such as metal equipment, mechanical engineering, pulp and paper products, and a real-estate development. Several thousand other jobs would be eliminated, the company said.

"Keep in mind that this is an old, traditional Norwegian company," said Otar Hangerud, an analyst at

Orkla Securities in Oslo. "They have turned the company upside down. It is a completely different company today than it was yesterday."

Almost any change might seem to be an improvement. Under Kvaerner's previous chief executive, Erik Tonseth, the company's 1998 loss came to 1.4 billion kroner. The company's stock plunged nearly 80 percent last year, though it had partly recovered since Mr. Almskog took over and made it clear he would shift course.

Many of the problems can be traced to Mr. Tonseth's disastrous purchase of Trafalgar House, a sprawling British engineering company that also owned the Cunard Line cruise ships, for \$1.38 billion in 1996.

Trafalgar was loaded with debt and problems, which drained capital when the shipbuilding industry was in recession.

Though Kvaerner sold off numerous chunks of Trafalgar including Cunard Line and the Queen Elizabeth 2 cruise ship, it still ran up big losses last year and was plagued by high costs and its disjointed mish-mash of companies.

Analysts said it may be difficult to find buyers for Kvaerner's 12 European shipyards. Beyond that, Mr. Almskog's description of the problems at other businesses was bleaker than some analysts had expected.

Nonetheless, most said the plan was a step in the right direction.

"It is hard to get rid of shipbuilding yards in Europe these days, but in the long run this is the right decision," said Olof Jonasson, an industry analyst at Handelsbanken Markets in Oslo.

In Oslo, Kvaerner's stock rose 15.50 kroner to close at 151.50 kroner.

## Mannesmann Shares Sink On Forecast

Reuters

**DUSSELDORF** — Shares of Mannesmann AG tumbled Wednesday after the German telecommunications and engineering group said it expected that its earnings in 1999 would be little changed from 1998 because of an increase in costs following its purchase of the fixed-line rival Otelco Communications GmbH from the utility companies VEBA AG and RWE AG.

Mannesmann fell 6.90 euros (\$7.43), or 5.2 percent, to close at 126 euros. Earnings in the first quarter rose from a year earlier, Mannesmann said in a statement without elaborating.

Group sales in the first quarter rose almost 4 percent, to 4.6 billion euros, amid a 32 percent growth in its telecommunications division, Mannesmann said. The company said it expected sales for the full year to increase about 1 billion euros, to about 20 billion euros.

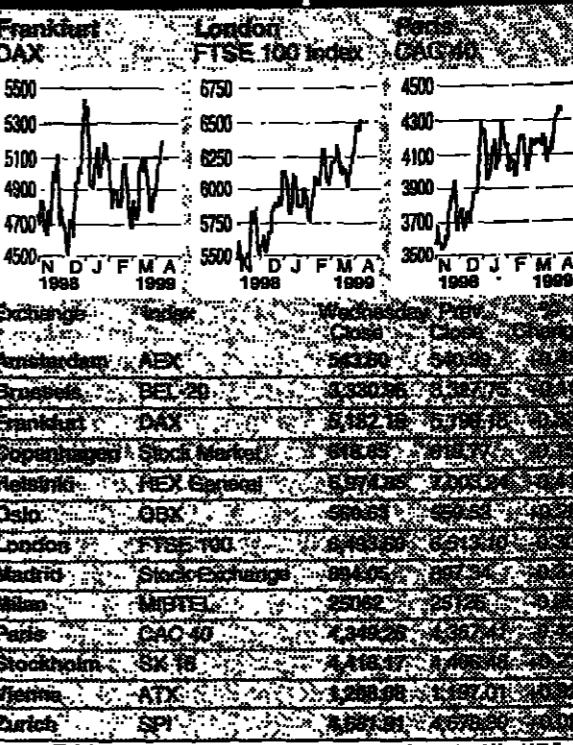
"We had definitely expected more from the figures," one trader said.

Other traders said there had been some profit-taking in Mannesmann shares after gains in recent days amid wrangling in the Italian market, where Olivetti SpA is trying to take over Telecom Italia SpA.

Olivetti plans to fund its bid for Telecom Italia partly through the sale of its stakes in Italy's second-largest mobile-phone network, Omnitel. Pronto Italia SpA, and in the fixed-line operator Infostrofa SpA to its partner Mannesmann.

Mannesmann said it expected profit to increase in 1999 in its telecoms division, excluding Otelco and a possible increase in its Omnitel and Infostrofa stakes.

## Investor's Europe



Source: TeliaSonera

International Herald Tribune

Investment

Invest

NYSE

**Wednesday's 4 P.M. Close**

The 2,300 most traded stocks of the day.  
Nationwide prices not reflecting late trades elsewhere

*The Associated Press*

S&P Corp	12 Month Total Return			52 Week Total Return		
	Hgt	Low	Stock	On Yld	PE	SG
50%	+16					
51%	+26					
52%	+16					
53%	+16					
54%	+16					
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**Continued on Page 15**

## NASDAQ

**Wednesday's 4 P.M.**  
The 1,000 most traded Nasdaq Market securities  
in terms of dollar value, updated twice a year.  
The Associated Press.

Stock	Div	Yld	PE	12 Month High	12 Month Low	Stock	Div	Yld	PE	12 Month High	12 Month Low	Stock	Div	Yld	PE	12 Month High	12 Month Low	Stock	Div	Yld	PE	12 Month High	12 Month Low
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**The Monte Carlo Investment Forum**  
22 & 23 April 1999  
Exhibition & Conférences

Sporting d'Hivex, Place du Casino, Principality of Monaco



Come for a chat... We bet you'll enjoy it!

It is now a tradition for the most prestigious names in international finance and for first rate international investors to meet in the Principality in order to pause and think about the situation of international capital markets, examine global investment strategies, compare the relative performance of various financial products, and learn more about Monaco.

To all of them, the Forum offers an elegant and exclusive setting, and a rare opportunity for direct interaction with leaders in international finance.

Abstract of the Conference Program

Thursday 22 April 1999

*Investment Strategies and Techniques*

- Mr Henri FISSEUR, Government Counsellor for Finance and Economy (Monaco)
- Dr Peter WALLNERBERG, Honorary Chairman, Investor AB (Stockholm)
- Mr Bryan ALWORTHY, Vice President Merrill Lynch Equity Strategist (London)
- Mr Ericson MCGREGOR, Director Général, Moers Rowland Corporate Services SAM (Monaco)
- Mr Peter STEIMLE, Chief Executive Officer, Schinzen SA (Lucerne)
- Mr Olivier GOURRAGNE, Directeur Stratégie de Portefeuille, Facility Investments (Paris)
- Mr Gary DUGAN, V.P. European Equity Markets Strategist, JP Morgan Securities Ltd (London)

Friday 23 April 1999

- Mr Christopher P. MURPHY, Senior Investment Manager, Coutts & Co. (London)
- Mr Björn JÄNNHALL, Senior Consultant Strategic Group, TREMA Treasury Management (Sophia Antipolis)

*The advent of electronic finance & the Internet*

- Prof. Serge MIRANDA, Directeur du DESS MBDS, Université de Nice Sophia Antipolis
- Mr Stefan PICHLER, Executive Vice President Sales, Lufthansa German Airlines (Frankfurt)
- Mr Pierre-Jean DOUVIER, Avocat associé au Bureau Francis Lefebvre (Paris)

3.00 p.m. / 5.00 p.m. : Monaco, an expanding financial center

- Mr Michel PASTOR, President, Chambre de Développement Economique de Monaco
- Mr Joseph-Alain SAUZIER, Délégué Général, Association Monégasque des Banques
- Mme Catherine ORECCHIA MATTHYSSENS, Directrice de l'Expansion Economique de Monaco
- Mr Pierre-Jean DOUVIER, Avocat associé, Bureau Francis Lefebvre (Paris)

From 10:00 to 13:00 both days, a special seminar on Investment Funds will be presented by MONTE CARLO INVEST booth #1. Free Admission

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ART BUCHWALD

## Policing for the Polite

NEW YORK — The police here have been ordered to be polite. They are even carrying cards that tell them what to say to citizens. Mayor Rudolph Giuliani says that if the police are polite, city dwellers will respond in kind.

I've set up several situations that might occur if everyone is nice to each other.

"Sir, were you thinking of holding up this bank?"

"Yes, officer. That is what I had in mind."

"If you did that, I would have to arrest you and bring you to justice."

"I agree that it will put you to a great deal of trouble, but as John Dillinger once said, 'A bank is the only sure place where the money is.'"

"Sir, what had you planned to do with the gun you are holding in your hand?"

"I was going to use it to frighten the employees."

"That's not a good idea. It's against the law to point a gun at somebody. If you did so, I would have to read you your rights, which include hiring a lawyer — and you know what they charge. It's more than you can get from robbing the bank."

## Ancient Roman Ships Found

Agency France Presse

ROME — Italian archaeologists have unearthed eight wooden Roman ships from a site near Pisa. The vessels date from the first century B.C. to the fifth century A.D. and were found in almost perfect condition.

"So far, we have found eight of them, but the excavations are continuing and the fleet is certainly much bigger," said Stefano Bruni of the Tuscany archaeology department.

The archaeologists have also begun to excavate what they believe is a Roman warship, which would make it the first such vessel from ancient times still fully preserved. The site will be open to specialists and journalists on April 20, a minister said.



If you will excuse me for a moment, I just saw someone go through a red light."

"Forgive me for asking, but why did you go through a red light?"

"That's a dumb question. I went through the light because I didn't see it."

"Nothing to be ashamed of, sir. Many of us spend our lives not seeing red lights."

"You are a very understanding policeman."

"All New York City policemen are understanding. We feel people's pain. If you'll excuse me, I see several gentlemen stealing a BMW from the curb."

"All right. Please put that car back where you found it. Don't you know it's a crime to take someone else's transportation in the confines of New York City?"

"We didn't know that, officer. We thought if you found an automobile on the street and it was unoccupied, it was yours."

"You've been misinformed. I must charge you with car theft."

"O.K., but I have a right to make one phone call. Do you have change for a dollar?"

"Here's a quarter from my own pocket. I pray the person you are calling is in."

## A Larger-Than-Life Power Play Spans the Seine

By Alan Riding  
New York Times Service

PARIS — With all the symmetry that Parisians love, the Pont des Arts links the painting and sculpture of the Louvre Museum with the philosophy and letters of the Institut de France.

It is a footbridge, but a serious bridge nonetheless, its iron arches resting on stone foundations and 19th-century lampposts adding elegance to its wide wooden walkway across the Seine.

It is, one might say, an unlikely place to find fierce American Indian warriors and naked African wrestlers.

Overnight, however, the Pont des Arts has been turned into an open-air, 24-hour exhibition space peopled by 68 larger-than-life sculptures by a 63-year-old artist from Senegal, Ousmane Sow.

The show forms part of a cultural program that presented an overview of 20th-century sculpture on the Champs-Elysées in 1996 and works by Mark di Suvero on the esplanade of the Invalides in 1997. This time the setting as well as the works is pulsing larger round-the-clock crowds than ever.

The sculptures are all figurative, yet what makes them so striking, apart from their size and unusual appearance, is the physical power and movement they evoke, as if they were alive one moment and frozen the next. Individually and in groups they all seem intent on telling a story. And through their stories Sow pays homage to American Indians and to Africans.

The show, which will run through May 20 and is Sow's first retrospective, presents five of the narrative series he has made since he turned to sculpture 15 years ago: Nuba wrestlers (1984), Masai warriors (1988), Zulu warriors (1991), Fulani shepherds (1993) and the Battle of Little Big Horn (1998), which alone comprises no fewer than 24 human figures and 11 horses and represents his most remarkable achievement.

Until now Parisians were unfamiliar with his work. Sow, however, was hardly unfamiliar with Paris.

Born in Dakar in 1935, he left Senegal in 1957 for Paris, where he lived for the next 25 years. He dreamed of becoming an artist but dropped out of art school for lack of funds. Instead he qualified as a physiotherapist and opened a private practice that



A view along the Pont des Arts with a few of Ousmane Sow's sculptures. Alexander Jans/Agence France Presse

eventually earned him a respectable living.

It also taught him everything a sculptor needs to know about the human body.

By the time he returned to Dakar in the early 1980s, he had tried his hand at small-scale sculpture without satisfactory results.

Then, in 1984, he discovered photographs of naked Nuba wrestlers in southern Sudan taken in the late 1960s by Leni Riefenstahl, Hitler's documentary filmmaker, and he was suddenly inspired to attack monumental sculptures.

The result seen here includes two muscular tribesmen wrestling, another two in combat with staffs, a naked woman dancing and a quiet sculpture of a woman sitting cross-legged as she paints the body of a kneeling man.

Sow began developing the technique that would enable him to create figures in movement that are sometimes 9 or 10 feet high but nonetheless have the hair, eyes, teeth, muscles, clothes and shoes necessary to make them look human.

Today he uses construction wire to provide the skeleton and then variously mixes clay, plastic, stone, metal, jute, cloth, plaster and rubber to shape the figures. Finally the sculptures are coated in an all-

weather substance, the ingredients of which remain his secret.

After his Nuba wrestlers were shown at the French Cultural Center in Dakar in 1988, Sow felt encouraged to press on. By the time he was noticed by the broader art world at Documenta 9 in Kassel, Germany, in 1992 and again at the 1995 Venice Biennale, he had created his Masai, Zulu and Fulani series.

With the Masai, his second group, Sow introduced animals, as in "Blood Drinker With Bull," in which a tribesman is bleeding the neck of a bull while trying to control its head-tossing resistance.

He was also drawn to create peaceful images, like a broad-backed Massai woman breast-feeding a baby, a 10-foot-high Massai warrior standing guard with a spear and decorated shield, a Peul woman tending her man's hair and a Peul couple courting shyly.

Yet it is in movement that he excels: a Zulu warrior decked in animal skins about to throw a spear, a young Peul tribesman wrestling a bullock and a Massai woman in a trance, standing on her tiptoes as if about to fall, her head thrown back and her eyes rolling wildly.

Sow, a tall white-haired man with a jovial

## PEOPLE

AN END may be in sight to the traffic jams provoked by "Mona Lisa" at the Louvre Museum in Paris. An international jury has picked a French architect, Lorenzo Piqueras, to turn the Salle des Etats, where Leonardo da Vinci's masterpiece now hangs, into two galleries, one for large oils of the Venetian Renaissance, the other exclusively for "Mona Lisa." The Louvre, which receives 6 million visitors a year, hopes this will facilitate things for the many tourists who enter the museum principally to see the painting. The \$4.5 million conversion, to be paid for by Nippon Television, should be ready in 2002.

Whitney Houston says she's the aggressor in her marriage to Bobby Brown. "Contrary to belief, I do the hitting, he doesn't. He has never put his hands on me. He is not a woman-beater," the singer and actress says in the May issue of Redbook. "We are crazy for one another. I mean crazy in love, love, love, love. When we're fighting, it's like that's love for us. We're fighting for our love." Brown's arrest history includes drunken driving and battery against women other than his wife.

The rapper Coolio, accused in California of carrying a concealed handgun in his vehicle, has changed his legal tune again. Coolio, whose real name is Artis Leon Ivey Jr., originally pleaded not guilty to the charge and then changed the plea to no-contest. On Tuesday, the rapper's lawyer

withdrew the no-contest plea. No explanation was given.

□

The widower of Tammy Wynette has spoken up to deny allegations that he helped cause the country star's death. George Richey and Wynette's physician, Wallis Marsh, are being sued by three of her daughters, who contend that the two didn't monitor her condition closely enough and gave her too many painkillers. "All of these allegations are totally false, without a shred of truth," Richey said.

The suit, which seeks unspecified damages, said that after Lennon was shot to death in 1980 outside his New York City apartment, Seaman routinely took shopping bags full of unreleased recordings, paintings and love letters. Seaman pleaded guilty in 1983 to stealing four journals and was sentenced to five years' probation. He promised to return all items he wrongfully took, the suit said.

foundation, and that will be proven in a court of law," Richey said in a statement. Marsh has also denied wrongdoing.

□

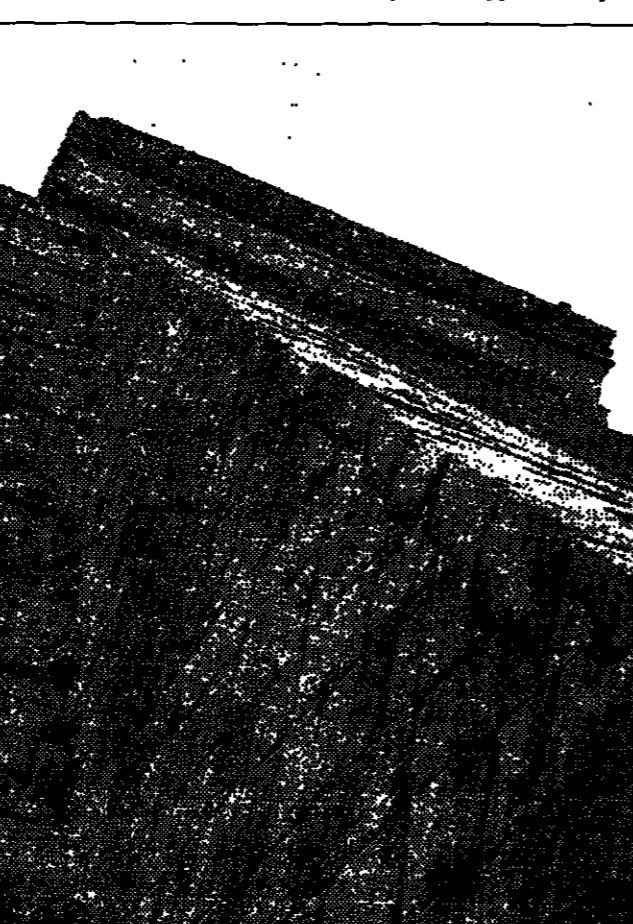
A fan of the handiwork Glenn Miller paid £21,850 (about \$35,000) for a military logbook that may hold a clue to Miller's disappearance during World War II. William Suitts of Boulder, Colorado, bid for the book by telephone to Sotheby's auction house in London. Miller disappeared in a plane over the English Channel on a foggy December day in 1944. No trace was ever found of the aircraft or its passengers. One theory was that the plane went down because of bad weather, but a flight log belonging to the Royal Air Force navigator Fred Shaw suggested Miller's plane may have been downed by bombs jettisoned by Royal Air Force squadrons returning from an aborted raid on Germany. In 1985 the Ministry of Defense wrote a letter to Shaw saying, "in retrospect we now lean towards this being the most likely solution to the mystery."

□

Earl Spencer, the brother of Diana, Princess of Wales, on Wednesday accepted a public apology and libel damages after allegations about proceeds from a memorial concert. Spencer had sued Express Newspapers; the Express on Sunday editor, Rosie Boycott, and the media editor, Ben Summerskill, over an article that appeared late last year headlined "Mystery of Earl's £1 million concert cash." The case centered on a memorial concert at the Spencer family home of Althorp in June 1998.



Brown and Houston at a party in New York. Vlado Bicanski/Photothek



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